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UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

ZEUS AND FIRE IN HESIOD'S *THEOGONY*

BY

ISABELLE ANNE DONALD

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF

MASTER OF ARTS

IN

CLASSICAL LITERATURE

DEPARTMENT OF CLASSICS

EDMONTON, ALBERTA

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ἄναξ ἀνάκτων, μακάρων
μακάρτατε καὶ τελέων
τελειότατον κράτος, ὄλβιε Ζεῦ

Aeschylus, *The Suppliants* 524 - 526

(Lord of lords, most blessed
of the blessed, of supreme power
the most supreme, happy Zeus)

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The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research for acceptance, a thesis entitled ZEUS AND FIRE IN HESIOD'S *THEOGONY* submitted by ISABELLE ANNE DONALD in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in Classical Literature.

Rosemary M. Nielsen, Supervisor

Robert J. Buck

Jon C. Stott

Date: September 17, 1990

Amicis caris

ABSTRACT

In the Proem of Hesiod's *Theogony* it is clear that "Zeus the *aigis*-bearer," "Zeus the loud-thunderer," "Zeus the father of both gods and men," and "Zeus the all-wise," is the centre, not only of the Muses's song, but also of the epic poem itself. For decades critics (e.g. Brown) have approached this Zeus as the wielder of a violent authority, a god who imposes an inflexible hierarchy upon the very gods and men whose admiration and cooperation he most needs for his Kosmos. But Hesiod's Zeus is a more complex figure than the record of his physical exploits first suggests. Vernant asserts that the supremacy of Zeus's deity rests in his power to unite such opposed realms as the natural, the human, and the divine.

The present thesis argues that fire is central to Zeus's power and that it is the unifying symbol of his godhood in the epic. Zeus's fire is both physical *and* intellectual; it is a "sceptre" ensuring law and order, and a weapon bringing punishment; finally, it is the basis on which Zeus founds his Kosmos. Chapter 1 contains a brief survey of scholarly attitudes towards Zeus's sovereignty. Chapter 2 looks at the Proem as a celebration of all that the name "Zeus" implies. Chapter 3 explores the origin and the background of Zeus's Olympian dynasty and the means by which Zeus begins to give expression to the power inherent in fire. Chapter 4 analyzes the three challenges which threaten to diminish or to destroy Zeus's essence as fire. The conclusion, Chapter 5, discusses Zeus's marriages, and his offspring, as the foundation of his new order, a Kosmos informed by law, justice, poetry, and harmony.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION: "ZEUS WHOEVER YOU ARE, . . ."

Zeus, the supreme god of the Greek pantheon, dominates the art and literature of Greek antiquity, whether Archaic, Classical, or Hellenistic. There is a richness and a diversity to his character and powers that have attracted countless artists, of all mediums, to turn to his deity for their inspiration. Unlike an Athene, an Akhilleus, a Herakles, or an Oidipous, Zeus possesses more than one dimension to his being. Vernant (1974) calls attention to the importance of this concept:[1]

> S'il est un dieu au sens propre, un *theós*, c'est parce qu'il est à la fois beaucoup de choses différentes, beaucoup de choses qui relèvent, à nos yeux, de domaines entièrement distincts ou même opposés: le monde de la nature, le monde social, le monde humain, le monde de la surnature.

No ancient artist recognized or paid greater tribute to Zeus's ability to unite such apparently disparate realms into one Kosmos,[2] one order, than did Hesiod in his epic poem, the *Theogony*.

In the 1940s Solmsen begins to shape the scholarly attitude, in English, towards the epic by asserting that "Hesiod's Zeus is Homer's Zeus."[3] Solmsen emphasizes certain similarities in the Zeus in both poets: "the conception of Zeus' eminence among the gods, of his lordship over gods and men, his direction of their destinies, his home on Olympus."[4] But Solmsen also notes a crucial difference between the Zeus of Homer and Hesiod. Hesiod, in spite of what Lamberton (1988) has argued, does not present "Zeus's power and omniscience"[5] as "givens" of the narrative, as does Homer. The *Theogony* is an unfolding drama, a complex story of how Zeus acquires these attributes of his power. Solmsen

also argues that "Zeus' conquest and consolidation of his power . . . [are the] culmination and τέλος [final objective]"[6] of the poem. It becomes clear, in the work of the scholars who follow, that the dynamics of Hesiod's artistry (e.g. tension, suspense, ambiguity) have resulted in differing interpretations of Zeus, in particular, of the significance of the order which he creates.

The next prominent scholar, Brown (1953),[7] approaches Hesiod from two perspectives: as a translator and as a commentator. In the introduction to his translation of the *Theogony*, he discusses the poem as a kind of historical document, which is almost a political manifesto. He begins with the seemingly positive assertion, that, Zeus's "distinctive attribute is not strength but statesmanship."[8] Nevertheless, as Brown examines the events surrounding Zeus's accession to power, what he emphasizes is the negative. He insists upon the significance of Zeus's acts of physical violence and his abrogation of the prerogatives and territorial realms of other competing forces: "Zeus has at his disposal force and violence on a scale which puts the petty despotisms of his predecessors completely in the shade."[9] For Brown, it appears that none of the benefits accruing to both gods and men through Zeus's various conflicts (e.g. with Prometheus, the Titans, or Typhoeos) or through his alliances (e.g. with the Kyklopes, Styx, Hekate, or the Hekatoncheires) diminish the god's authoritarian image. Brown, and many of his followers (e.g. Sussman and Arthur), read the story of Hesiod's Zeus as a record of the imposition of an inflexible hierarchy in which Zeus "puts himself beyond good and evil and beyond the reach of the law of retribution."[10]

Not all scholars, however, view the figure of Zeus from this narrow perspective. In the 1960s both Sale and Rexine present an alternative assessment. Rexine, in particular, offers a challenge to Brown's position by stating:[11]

> The new ruler, it should be pointed out, was no tyrannical despot; he was not the self-appointed king of the universe but elected by the gods themselves, . . . Zeus is therefore not brute force, naked power. He is power plus justice, fairness plus order.

Sale expands on Rexine's idea of Zeus's complex nature by calling attention to the god's "reasoning ego."[12] For Sale, Zeus's "surpassing power"[13] is a function of an even greater attribute, his intelligence.

This thesis not only builds upon the insights of Rexine and Sale but it also provides an analysis of the major symbol of Zeus's essence in the *Theogony* -- fire. In his monumental work, *Zeus: A Study in Ancient Religion*, Cook takes the reader back to the earliest connections among Zeus, fire, and the god's role as a sky and weather god. Cook focusses upon Zeus's wielding of the fire inherent in the thunder, the lightning, and the thunderbolt:[14]

> At the very moment when the sky was darkest Zeus vindicated his character as 'the Bright One.' The brilliant flash that glittered for an instant against the lowering storm sufficiently proved his presence and his power.

But Zeus's fire is much more than a sign of his physical presence in a storm or in a clap of thunder. The present thesis approaches Zeus's fire as intellectual as well as physical; as a "sceptre" to protect law and order as well as a weapon to bring punishment and vengeance; and, finally, as the basis through which Zeus brings into being a Kosmos which is both a union of nature, men, and gods, and the spirit of the harmony that binds the union together.

The concept of the importance of fire is brought out through a critical reading of all of the pertinent passages dealing with Zeus. Chapter 2 examines the Proem (1 - 115) as a hymn to Zeus and as a prelude to his supremacy as the king and father of gods and men. Chapter 3 (116 - 506) explores the origin and the background of Zeus's Olympian dynasty and introduces the importance of alliances or covenants as the means by which Zeus begins to give expression to the power of fire. Chapter 4 (507 - 885) analyzes the three successive challenges (intellectual, divine, and natural) which threaten to diminish, or even to destroy, Zeus's power to wield fire. The conclusion, Chapter 5 (886 - 964), discusses Zeus's marriages, and his offspring, as the foundation of his new order, a Kosmos informed by law, justice, poetry, and harmony.

FOOTNOTES

1. J.-P. Vernant, *Mythe et société en grèce ancienne* (Paris: François Maspero, 1974), p. 105. The title of Chapter 1 is a translation of Aes. *Ag.* 160, Ζεὺς ὅστις ποτ' ἐστίν, . . . All translations, unless otherwise noted, are my own.

2. H.G. Liddell & R. Scott; *Greek-English Lexicon*, 9th ed. rev. Sir H.S. Jones (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1940; reprint 1985), hereafter referrred to as *LSJ*, *s.v.* κόσμος, "order," "of things, natural order;" political "order," "government." Also "ornament," "decoration." The verb κοσμέω denotes to "order," "arrange," "esp. set an army in array," "marshal."

3. F. Solmsen, *Hesiod and Aeschylus* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1949), p. 7.

4. *Ibid.*

5. R. Lamberton, *Hesiod* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1988), p. 100. In his discussion, Lamberton emphasizes the "small" details such as "victims" or δίκη (justice), and not the larger themes traditionally discussed by commentators. He is, therefore, representative of a recent trend in Hesiodic scholarship. *Cf.* P. Pucci, *Hesiod and the Language of Poetry* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1977) who discusses "*logos*" and "truth."

6. Solmsen, pp. 7 - 8.

7. Hesiod, *Theogony*, trans. N.O. Brown (Indianapolis, IN: Bobbs-Merrill, 1953), hereafter referred to as Brown. I do not include P. Walcot, since his contributions to an understanding of the *Theogony* consist in his acceptance of the text, as transmitted, based on parallels with Near Eastern mythology and literature. *Cf.* P. Walcot, "The text of Hesiod's *Theogony* and the Hittite *Epic of Kumarbi*," *CQ* n.s. 6 (1956) 198 - 206; "The Problem of the *Prooemium* of Hesiod's *Theogony*," *SO*, 33 (1957) 37 - 47; and, *Hesiod and the Near East* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1966).

8. Brown, p. 20.

9. *Ibid.*

10. *Ibid*, p. 22. For L.S. Sussman, "The Birth of the Gods: Sexuality, Conflict and Cosmic Structure in Hesiod's *Theogony*," *Ramus* 7 (1978), p. 72, Zeus's negative aspects *do* evolve into something positive: "in the course of the narrative Zeus evolves from the conqueror who seizes power by force and maintains it by violence, into the supreme moral arbiter of the universe, the father of all that is just,

harmonious and beautiful;" M.B. Arthur, "Cultural Strategies in Hesiod's *Theogony*: Law, Family, Society," *Arethusa* 15: 1, 2 (1982), p. 76, says that "Zeus' 'neutralization' of the earlier threats consists in a bi-partite strategy whereby he 'replaces' the male figures of force at the same time that he maintains an identity with them, while he 'displaces' the various threatening aspects of the female forces and, at the same time, integrates them into his reign."

11. J.E. Rexine, "Centrality of Zeus in Hesiod," *CB* 42 (1966), p. 39.

12. W. Sale, "The Dual Vision of the *Theogony*," *Arion* 4 (1965), p. 692.

13. *Ibid*, p. 673.

14. A.B. Cook, *Zeus: A Study in Ancient Religion*, v. II, pt. 1 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1925), p. 11. *Cf*. Vernant, p. 104: "Nous lisons dans le mot Zeus la racine briller [to shine];" and, on p. 105: "Zeus est le ciel brillant; . . . maître de la lumière, il se révèle dans et par la lumière."

CHAPTER 2

ZEUS "NOBLEST AND GREATEST"

The Proem (1 - 115) of Hesiod's *Theogony* appears, at first, to celebrate only the Muses.[1] It is soon clear, however, that the Muses' song is an *encomium* of Zeus, the deity whom Rexine argues is "the connecting link . . . as well as the common theme"[2] of this hymn. The present chapter closely examines Hesiod's account of Zeus's relationships with three groups of figures: the Muses, the kings, and the poet-singers. Each of them reveal attributes of Zeus, and thus create a vision of his greatness. As the thesis progresses, the reader comes to recognize that the Proem represents a moment of complete harmony for Zeus; only here is his power totally perfected, unchallenged, permanent.

In the opening lines of the Proem, the Muses' relationship to Zeus appears simply to be that of celebrants who dance around his altar on "the great and holy mountain of Helikon" (2, Ἑλικῶνος . . . ὄρος μέγα τε ζάθεον).[3] In line 25, however, the *aoidos* (singer) reveals that the Muses are, in fact, "the daughters of *aigis*-bearing Zeus" (κοῦραι Διὸς αἰγιόχοιο). Thus the physical world of Hesiod's *aoidos*, the mountain slopes of Helikon, is a realm filled with gods, sacred music and dance, and the presence "of the very mighty son of Kronos" (5, ἐρισθενέος Κρονίωνος).[4] This concept of the sacred is now expanded to include the names of a select number of gods. In reverse order, beginning with the youngest gods, the Muses celebrate the Olympians (Zeus and Hera), look back to their ancestors (the Titans), and even as far back as primaeval Gaia (11 - 20). By the end of line 20, Hesiod's *aoidos* has invited the

reader into a miniature Kosmos, a realm in which there is order, the melding of the divine and nature, and an atmosphere dominated by the personality of Zeus.

The *aoidos's* confidence in the divine ordering of his world is visible in the unified and balanced structure of the Proem. Minton defines that structure as "tripartite"[5] and divides the sections in the following way: lines 1 - 35 focus on the shepherd's initiation into the rites of the Muses -- their song, the content of which, as Havelock observes, "embrac[es] the order which emanates from Zeus;"[6] lines 36 - 79 contain the Muses' proclamation of their father Zeus's accession to the kingship and his power to distribute rights and privileges to mortals and immortals; and, finally, lines 80 - 103 trace the flowing of power from Zeus, through the Muses, to mortal kings and *aoidoi*. In this section the words of the Muses, utterances inspired by Zeus, ensure physical comfort and social justice for mortals.

The first of the three sections (1 - 35) opens with what West describes as an "epiphany"[7] of the Muses to their chosen *aoidos*, a shepherd. This shepherd, named "Hesiod,"[8] claims that "[the Muses] once taught [him] beautiful song" (22, νύ ποθ' . . . καλὴν ἐδίδαξαν ἀοιδήν). Before they confer their "gift" (103, δῶρα) of song,[9] the Muses emphasize their position of authority over the humble shepherd. They initially address him condescendingly as "base and shameful" (26, κάκ' ἐλέγχεα). Then, they emphasize the ignorance of shepherds in general with this cryptic statement: "we know how to say many false things that seem just like true things/ and we also, when we wish, know how to utter the truth" (27 - 28, ἴδμεν ψεύδεα πολλὰ λέγειν ἐτύμοισιν ὁμοῖα,/ ἴδμεν δ' εὖτ'

ἐθέλωμεν ἀληθέα γηρύσασθαι). It is important to consider the significance of the Muses' evasiveness about "truth".

First of all, "truth" seems to be subject to the willingness of the Muses to dispense it in "religious" utterance (28, γηρύσασθαι).[10] Next, as Pucci has seen, "truth" (ἀ-λήθ-) refers to things that "must not be forgotten" or allowed "to escape one's notice."[11] As we shall see, the Muses are the daughters of Mnemosyne, a goddess whose name "includes or implies the notions of recall and of record and of memorisation."[12] There is a certain irony, then, in the way that the Muses single out an unlearned shepherd, tempt him with a gift of recall of past events, while at the same time they give him no assurance that they, as his mediums, will be faithful to what "truth" should be retold. Just as the reader later learns how dependent Zeus is on the Muses' song to glorify his reign, so, here, he learns how dependent the shepherd is upon them to swell his song with memorable, that is, true, history. These Muses who stand before Hesiod are indeed the "fashioners of words" (29, ἀρτιέπειαι), capricious[13] artisans of "truth." Pucci represents the Muses as "the only [true] witnesses of the past events whose narration they inspire in the poet."[14]

As soon as the Muses have asserted their privileged role, they honour the mortal *aoidos* by making him the instrument of their songs of "truth" -- things that should not be forgotten. Once again they emphasize ritual orderliness in their actions. They turn to his natural realm. "They pluck/ a shoot of blossoming laurel" (30 - 31, δάφνης ἐριθηλέος ὄζον/ δρέψασαι).[15] In a "miraculous way" (31, θηητόν), the fashioners of words become the divine artisans of a shepherd's "staff" (30, σκῆπτρον).

As the shepherd holds that staff, the Muses breathe into him an "inspired/ voice" (31 - 32, *αὐδὴν/ θέσπιν*). From that moment the shepherd's staff, or *skeptron* (sceptre), becomes the visible witness of Hesiod's initiation into the Muses' craft. The *aoidos* depends on his staff "to set him apart"[16] as he follows the course of the Muses' inspiration. With his sceptre, he joins the ranks of kings, priests, and prophets.[17] The Muses command him "to hymn in praise the blessed gods" (33, *ὑμνεῖν μακάρων*) and "the things that will be and the things that were before" (32, *τά τ' ἐσσόμενα πρό τ' ἐόντα*);[18] but "he is always to place them at the beginning and the end of his song" (34, *αὐτὰς πρῶτόν τε καὶ ὕστατον αἰὲν ἀείδειν*). As Hesiod concludes his remembrance of the Muses' epiphany in lines 26 - 34, he does so by emphasizing his own place of privilege in a song that becomes more focussed in the next section on Zeus.

Just as lines 1 - 35 provide a glimpse of the importance of order in Zeus's Kosmos so, too, lines 36 - 79 introduce, through a series of epithets and descriptive passages, vital concepts about Zeus and his divine household. A prominent characteristic of Zeus is that "he is the bravest and mightiest in power of the gods" (49, *φέρτατός ἐστι θεῶν κάρτει τε μέγιστος*). In line 52 Hesiod refers, for the fourth time (*cf.* 11, 13, and 25), to Zeus as "*aigis*-bearing" (*αἰγιόχοιο*). The frequency of references to this symbol of Zeus's power would seem, at first, to imply that it is the *aigis* which makes Zeus so secure in his dominion.[19] The *aigis*, however, as the shield of Zeus, is an essential part of his accoutrement as a warrior. This is clear from the passage in Homer's *Iliad* where "the son of Kronos caught up the betasselled/ glaring aegis, . . . [and] he let go/ a lightning flash and a loud thunderstroke"[20]

(17.593 - 595, Κρονίδης ἕλετ' αἰγίδα θυσσανόεσσαν/ μαρμαρέην, . . ./ ἀστράψας δὲ μάλα μεγάλ' ἔκτυπε).[21] Like any warrior Zeus dons his shield before entering battle, and, like any warrior, it is not his shield but, rather, his weapons that give Zeus his superior strength. Hesiod asserts this "truth" as he describes the Muses going to visit their father "who is king in heaven,/ [and] who himself is holding the thunder and the blazing thunderbolt" (71 - 72, ὁ δ' οὐρανῷ ἐμβασιλεύει,/ αὐτὸς ἔχων βροντὴν ἠδ' αἰθαλόεντα κεραυνόν). Just as the sceptre which Hesiod received from the Muses is a sign of his powers as an *aoidos*, so the thunderbolt is the sign of Zeus's absolute power. The thunderbolt makes him the mightiest of the gods, for no one except Zeus, as will become clear in Chapter 4, can handle this primal and violent force of nature.

Hesiod, however, makes it clear that Zeus's thunder and lightning are nothing without the force of his "great intellect" (37, μέγαν νόον) to guide them. At the beginning of the second section of the Froem, Zeus's mind is immediately associated with his role as "father" (36, πατρὶ).[22] Rather than display his potentially violent nature, Zeus prefers to surround himself with life, beauty, and order. The first indication of this aspect of Zeus's nature occurs in Hesiod's story about the Muses' visit to Olympos. The poet describes how "the house of the father,/ loud-thundering Zeus, laughs at the delicate voice of the goddesses/ scattering forth, and the summit of snowy Olympos echoes" (40 - 42, γελᾷ δέ τε δώματα πατρὸς/ Ζηνὸς ἐριγδούποιο θεᾶν ὀπὶ λειριοέσσῃ/ σκιδναμένῃ, ἠχεῖ δὲ κάρη νιφόεντος Ὀλύμπου). The pleasure that Zeus feels is inspired not only by the presence of such gifted offspring but also by the history which they relate. Hesiod implies that ideally Zeus's House is a place of

culture, a domain in which the pursuits of the mind and the celebration of memory always take precedence.

The name Mnemosyne (Memory), the mother of the Muses, and the individual names of the Muses themselves, are a manifestation of the very ideals on which Zeus's Kosmos is founded: "History" (77, Κλειώ) is the Memory which enquires into all things; "Astronomy" (78, Οὐρανίη) draws the eyes of men toward "Heaven"; the "Flute" (77, Εὐτέρπη), signifies the joy of "Dance" (78, Τερψιχόρη) and of the singing of "Choral" (Ἐρατώ) and "Lyric" (Πολύμνια) poetry; "Comedy" (77, Θάλειά), and the laughter it generates, brings release from sadness; while "Tragedy" (77, Μελπομένη) causes its audience to reflect on the trials in the life of men. But the "most excellent of all the Muses is Epic Poetry" (79, Καλλιόπη θ'· ἥ δὲ προφερεστάτη ἐστὶν ἁπασέων), she who watches over the *aoidos* and his song. As Arrighetti explains, "[i]n seguito al matrimonio di Zeus con Mnemosine, dunque, quelle che noi chiameremmo le qualità intellettuali entrano a far parte del mondo."[23] In addition to the intellectual, however, the Muses reveal their "humanity" in their concern to bring to the world "forgetfulness of evils and repose from sorrows" (55, λησμοσύνην τε κακῶν ἄμπαυμα τε μερμηράων).

The final section of the Proem delineates the society which the Muses seek to comfort and to protect. In this society "Zeus-nourished kings" (82, διοτρεφέων βασιλήων) cherish their people through the gift of the Muses. The daughters of Zeus bestow upon a king "sweet" (83, γλυκερὴν) and "gentle" (84, μείλιχα) words. Theirs is a "holy gift" (93, ἱερὴ δόσις) and through its force a king "decides law/ with straight justice" (85 - 86, διακρίνοντα θέμιστας/ ἰθείῃσι δίκῃσιν). The Hesiodic

concept of a king is that of a lawgiver. In the *Iliad* lawgivers are "those administering justice, who had in their keeping/ the laws of Zeus" (*Il.* 1.238 - 239, *δικασπόλοι, οἵ τε θέμιστας/ πρὸς Διὸς εἰρύαται*). What is more, in the *Iliad*, as the symbolic offspring of Zeus and his mortal representatives on earth, the "lawgivers" (*δικασπόλοι*) hold the "sceptre" (*Il.* 1.234, *σκῆπτρον*). The sceptre signifies their power of command, for Vernant reminds us that Zeus "est présent tout spécialement dans le sceptre du roi."[24] In Hesiod, however, the sceptre has been replaced by "gentle persuasive speech" (90, *μαλακοῖσι παραιφάμενοι ἐπέεσσιν*). Hesiod's king requires no symbolic staff as he walks through his public assembly. Just as Zeus ordains the rights of the immortals (73 - 74), so the king "leads the public assembly and declares" (86, *ἀγορεύων*) rights and privileges for his subjects. The ability of the king to deliver justice unerringly and "to settle skilfully even a great dispute" (87, *καὶ μέγα νεῖκος ἐπισταμένως κατέπαυσε*) surrounds him with an aura of divine power. A Zeus-nourished king "coming into the assembly is adored as a god/ with gentle reverence, and is pre-eminent among those assembled" (91 - 92, *ἐρχόμενον δ' ἀν' ἀγῶνα θεὸν ὣς ἱλάσκονται/ αἰδοῖ μειλιχίῃ, μετὰ δὲ πρέπει ἀγρομένοισι*). It is as though Zeus himself were present.

As Hesiod concludes the Proem, he turns once again to the figure of the *aoidos*. This time he exalts the *aoidos* as a man whose status is almost equal to that of the king in human society.[25] A king enjoys the patronage of Zeus and the Muses. Similarly, an *aoidos* has the patronage of the Muses and Apollo, the "laurel-bearing", "physician" son of Zeus.[26] As *ὄλβιος* (96), Hesiod's *aoidos* is "blest," but not with the kind of material wealth normally associated with kings. His "holy" gift is "the

sweet voice flowing from his mouth" (97, γλυκερή οἱ ἀπὸ στόματος ῥέει αὐδή), a voice shaped and guided by the Muses' "love" (97, φίλωνται) for their singer. As though he were a Zeus-nourished king, the *aoidos* walks through society bringing an end to the conflicts and sorrows within each human being. His song also evokes a special kind of memory. "The servant of the Muses hymns in praise the glorious deeds of earlier men/ and the blessed gods" (100 - 101, Μουσάων θεράπων κλεῖα προτέρων ἀνθρώπων/ ὑμνήσει μάκαράς τε θεοὺς) so that a man "forgets his anxieties and/ remembers none of his cares" (102 - 103, δυσφροσυνέων ἐπιλήθεται οὐδὲ τι κηδέων/ μέμνηται).[27] In Hesiod's view, therefore, both *aoidoi* and kings have the power to charm mortals with "honeyed" (84, μείλιχα) words. Zeus, working through the Muses and Apollo, ensures that his human society has the possibility of attaining some degree of the justice, beauty, and order that he himself is seen enjoying earlier in his Olympian home.

In a "coda"[28] (104 - 115) to the Proem, Hesiod formally invokes the Muses to "grant [him] lovely song" (104, δότε δ' ἱμερόεσσαν ἀοιδήν). Having proclaimed them as his source of "authority,"[29] now the *aoidos* begins to relate his own account of the origin of the gods. He describes how Gaia (Mother Earth) and the rest of nature came into being (106 - 110) and the gods, "who were born from these" (111, οἵ τ' ἐκ τῶν ἐγένοντο), and how they distributed their wealth and their privileges (112). In spite of the coda's emphasis on the harmony reigning among the gods, "the givers of good things" (111, δωτῆρες ἐάων), Hesiod's story, which begins in line 116, quickly becomes a narrative of discord and retribution. It is not until lines 886 and following that the poet returns to a Kosmos of order and culture, one characteristic of the realm of Zeus in the Proem.

FOOTNOTES

1. The title of Chapter 2 is a translation of *h: Zeus*, 4, *κύδιστε μέγιστε*, in *The Homeric Hymns*, ed. T.W. Allen, W.R. Halliday, & E.E. Sikes (Amsterdam: Adolf M. Hakkert, 1980; reprint Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1936). For further discussion of the Proem *cf.* P. Walcot, "The Problem of the *Prooemium* of Hesiod's *Theogony*," *SO* 33 (1957), pp. 37 - 47; E.M. Bradley, "The Relevance of the Prooemium to the design and meaning of Hesiod's *Theogony*," *SO* 41 (1966), pp. 29 - 47; and W.W. Minton, "The Proem-Hymn of Hesiod's *Theogony*," *TAPA* 101 (1970), pp. 357 - 377, who emphasizes the similarities between the Proem and the Homeric Hymns.

2. Rexine, p. 38.

3. P.A. Marquardt, "The Two Faces of Hesiod's Muse," *ICS* 7 (1983), p. 7, points out that the "presence" of an altar to Zeus "on the mountaintop reflects his original role as weather-god." All citations are from Hesiod, *Theogony*, ed. with Prolegomena and Commentary by M.L. West (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1966), hereafter referred to as West.

4. *ἐρισθενέος* is composed of two parts: the intensifier *ἐρι-*, "very," "much;" and, *σθένος*, "strength," "might," "esp. bodily strength." *LSJ*, *s.v.* *ἐρισθενής*.

5. Minton, p. 357. D. Boedeker, "Hecate: A Transfunctional Goddess in the *Theogony*?" *TAPA* 113 (1983), pp. 84 - 93, discusses the term tripartite in the context of the "Indo-European tripartite system of 'functions' proposed by Georges Dumezil" -- "sovereignty," "physical force," and "fertility, the production of food, and physical well-being" -- and demonstrates how these functions can be applied to the Zeus of the *Theogony*.

6. Havelock, p. 102.

7. West, p. 150.

8. The ideas discussed under the name of "Hesiod" are not claimed to represent the intentions of the historical Hesiod. Lamberton, pp. 56 - 57, citing G. Nagy, *The Best of the Achaeans* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1979), says that "[t]he name [Hesiod] itself seems to be a generic description of the speaker and etymologically to mean 'he who emits the voice'."

9. *Cf.* West, p. 189: *δῶρα θεάων* means "music." He cites "Archil. 1. 2 *καὶ Μουσέων ἐρατὸν δῶρον ἐπιστάμενος*, [and] Alcm. 59(b). I *Ϝαδηᾶν ἔδειξε Μωσᾶν δῶρον*," for similar expressions.

10. Pucci, p. 9, says that the verb γηρύσασθαι is "from religious language," but fails to provide examples of such usage. *LSJ*, *s.v.* γηρύω, "sing" or "sing of," "celebrate." The most frequent use of γηρύω occurs in Pindar. A sacred connotation is possible in *Nem.* 6.58 and, in particular, in *Nem.* 7.82, "it is fitting/ to celebrate the king of the gods . . ." (βασιλῆα δὲ θεῶν πρέπει/ . . . γαρυέμεν).

11. *Cf.* Pucci, p. 11. "by declaring what had *escaped* men in the Muses's song, they reveal the *a-letheia* ("truth")." *LSJ*, *s.v.* ἀληθής (λήθω, = λανθάνω. ἀληθής means "unconcealed," "so true," "real," "not forgetting." λανθάνω, in the active voice means "escape notice;" in the middle and passive, "let a thing escape one," "forget." The negative here is α-privative defined as "expressing want or absence," "(*cf.* Arist. *Metaph.* 1022(b)32), σοφός wise, ἄσοφος unwise)." J.S. Clay, "What the Muses Sang: *Theogony* 1 - 115," *GRBS* 29: 4 (1988), pp. 327 - 328, points out that "the archaic Greek conception of ἀλήθεια is in some ways far narrower than our notion of 'truth'." For further discussion of the concept of "truth" in the Greek Archaic period, *cf.* M. Detienne, "La notion mythique d'ΑΛΗΘΕΙΑ," *REG* 73 (1960), pp. 27 - 35, and S. Accame, "L'invocazione alla Musa e la 'verità' in Omero e in Esiodo," *RFIC* s.3, 91 (1963), pp. 257 - 281, 385 - 415.

12. Havelock, p. 100. *LSJ*, *s.v.* μνημοσύνη.

13. Clay, p. 328, says that the Muses's "truth-telling is a matter of caprice,"

14. Pucci, p. 13.

15. In his translation of the *Theogony* in Hesiod, *The Works and Days, Theogony, The Shield of Herakles* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1959), R. Lattimore mistranslates δάφνης as "olive."

16. West, p. 164.

17. *LSJ*, σκῆπτρον, "staff" or "stick, used by the lame or aged;" a "staff" or "baton, esp. as the badge of command," a "*sceptre*." In Homer it is carried "by kings and chiefs," "by heralds" and "by speakers, who on rising to speak receive it from the herald," and "by priests and by soothsayers [prophets]." West, p. 163, says that the σκῆπτρον is "the symbol that [kings, priests, and prophets] are a god's representatives." *LSJ* cites Hes. *Th.* 30 as the first reference to *aoidoi* and the σκῆπτρον. Its associations with prophecy make the *aoidos*, what Brown calls, "a prophet of religious truth." *Cf.* West, pp. 163 - 164.

18. It is interesting to note that the *aoidos* is not commanded to recount the present. In line 38 the Muses "tell the things that are, the things that will be, and the things that were before" (τά τ' ἐόντα τά τ' ἐσσόμενα πρό τ' ἐόντα). They are omniscient.

Perhaps the present should not be revealed to mortals. Whatever mortals think that they know about the present may, in fact, be a different "truth" than that known by the Muses. Knowledge of both the past and the future is safe, for it is not readily available to mortals. The past is in the keeping of Memory (Mnemosyne), the mother of the Muses, and only those charged with singing the song of the Muses can have access to this "truth." The future cannot be seen by any living being. Thus, songs of the future have their own "truth," a "truth" which the Muses will, if they wish (28, ἐθέλωμεν), grant to their chosen *aoidos*.

19. *LSJ*, *s.v.* αἰγίς, a "goatskin," "esp. the skin shield of Zeus." The word also denotes a "rushing storm," "hurricane." This is the meaning of αἰγίδων in Aes. *Cho.* 593. W.H. Roscher, *Ausführliches Lexikon der Griechischen und Römischen Mythologie*, T. 1 (Leipzig: Druck und Verlag von B.G. Teubner, 1884 - 1886), says that the *aigis* "should be understood as a dark, terrible storm with thunder and lightning" (dunkeln, furchtbaren, Sturm, Blitz und Donner mit sich bringenden Wetterwolke verstanden werden kann). (The author wishes to thank Mr. M. Hertwig-Jaksch for his assistance with the translation from Roscher.) *Cf.* C. Daremberg & E. Saglio, *Dictionnaire des Antiquités Grecques et Romaines*, T. 1 (Graz: Akademische Druck- u. Verlagsanstalt, 1962; reprint Paris: Librairie Hachette, 1877). The idea of the *aigis* as both a shield and a storm-cloud is clearly expressed by R.L. Fowler, "ΑΙΓ- in Early Greek Language and Myth," *Phoenix* 42:2 (1988), p. 112, when he says: "[Zeus's] armour was a goatskin shield; he was the storm god; the onslaught of the storm was Zeus shaking his shield." (*Cf.* Appendix 1).

20. Homer, *The Iliad*, trans. R. Lattimore (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1951). There is a pun in Lattimore's translation of μαρμαρέην as "glaring." *LSJ*, *s.v.* μαρμάρεος, "flashing," "gleaming, esp. of metals." Also "of marble." While glaring can mean "glittering" or "shining," it also denotes "staring angrily," as in the staring face of the Gorgon. (*Cf.* Appendix I).

21. Homer, *Iliadis*, T. I & II, ed. D.B. Munro & T.W. Allen, 3rd ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1920). Fowler, p. 104, describes Zeus's *aigis* in this passage from the *Iliad* as both "the cloak and weapon." According to Fowler, "the lightning bolt is usually [Zeus's] weapon, but the aegis here subsumes it."

22. Brown, p. 8, points out that "Creative energy is a fundamental attribute of power."

23. G. Arrighetti in his Introduction to Esiodo. *Teogonia* (Milan: Biblioteca Universale Rizzoli, 1984), p. 35.

24. Vernant, p. 108. He elaborates further: Zeus is also "dans la personne du roi." In *Il.* 2.84 - 143, Agamemnon exhibits a special "aura of power," or *mana* emanating from the sceptre which he holds

as he summons and addresses the asssembly of the Achaians. *Cf.* H.J. Rose, *A Handbook of Greek Mythology*, 6th ed. (London: Methuen, 1958), p. 48, who says that "Zeus would be full of his divine force, or *mana*" when he takes up the *aigis*. In the same way, the mortal king would be "full of his divine force, or *mana*" when he grasps his sceptre.

25. Havelock, p. 110, says that Hesiod "has delineated the prince as if he were himself a kind of poet. But now he recognizes perhaps that many princes are not poets. At any rate, the social performances of prince and of poet are distinguishable. The prince wields political power; he is therefore Zeus's child. The minstrel wields power over words; he therefore is the child of Apollo and the Muses. But the two kinds of power are somehow coeval, linked together. In practical terms a prince might formulate his own edicts and if he could and did, the greater might be his influence. More likely his poet did it for him."

26. Two common epithets of Apollo were δαφνηφόρος (laurel-bearing) and Παιάν (Physician). Apollo's sacred tree is the laurel, from which the sceptre, conferred by the Muses on their chosen *aoidos*, is made. Thus, as Clay, p. 333, points out, "[t]he scepter of laurel given to Hesiod by the Muses, unites the authority of Zeus with the tree sacred to Apollo."

27. *LSJ*, *s.v.* ἐπιλήθομαι. The verb is formed from ἐπί and λήθ- and means in the active voice "cause to forget," in the passive, "be forgotten," and, in the middle, "forget" (*cf.* n. 11, ἀ-λήθ-). In lines 102 - 103 "forgetting" brings healing: "What impresses one most strongly in Hesiod is his view of poetry as a divine medicine" cited in A. Sperduti, "The Divine Nature of Poetry in Antiquity," *TAPA* 81 (1950), p. 229.

28. E. Pascal, "La structure du Prélude de la *Théogonie*," *CEA* 23:1 (1990), p. 24. *Cf.* M.B. Arthur, "The Dream of a World Without Women: Poetics and the Circles of Order in the *Theogony* Prooemium," *Arethusa* 16: 1,2 (1983), p. 97, who describes the entire Proem as "both a coda and an overture."

29. *Cf.* J.S. Clay, "The Hecate of the *Theogony*," *GRBS* 25 (1984), p. 29: "Hesiod describes his encounter with the Muses . . . to guarantee the authenticity and immediate authority of the account of the gods which follows."

CHAPTER 3

"ZEUS, UNDER WHOSE THUNDER THE WIDE EARTH TREMBLES"

The present chapter approaches lines 116 - 506 as a vision of a House divided and a divine Kosmos in peril.[1] Against such a background Zeus emerges and, through key alliances with Styx, Hekate, and the Kyklopes, prepares to bring stability back to the Kosmos. The dangers he faces and his association with a crucial weapon are themes also identified, as we shall see, with his grandmother, Gaia, one of the earliest creatures to come into being.[2] As this chapter unfolds, it becomes clear that Zeus cannot be fully understood, or appreciated, without an examination of the sources of the discord that permeate the two dynasties preceding him.

Within the first 50 lines of Hesiod's cosmology, there are hints of the conflict that will arise between Gaia and Ouranos (Sky), her firstborn son and consort. Ouranos had been conceived to be "equal" (126, ἶσον) to his mother and to provide "a secure dwelling-place for the immortal gods" (128, μακάρεσσι θεοῖς ἕδος ἀσφαλὲς).[3] The difficulties in their relationship begin when their Titan offspring come into being. Hesiod describes the last of the individual divine offspring, Kronos,[4] as the "most terrifying of their children" (138, δεινότατος παίδων). Perhaps part of Kronos's ability to inspire fear is his "hatred of his vigorous father" (θαλερὸν δ' ἤχθηρε τοκῆα). Hesiod delays giving the reasons for the antagonism between father and son and chooses instead to relate the birth of the Kyklopes and the Hekatoncheires (Hundred-Handers): two groups of three sons each. The emotion of hatred does not disappear.

But it is no longer directed from a son to a father; rather, hatred flows from a father to his sons.[5]

Gaia is distressed by the disruption of the bonds that should have existed between Ouranos and his offspring. In a dramatic speech, Gaia depicts Ouranos as an unnatural father, who "is destined to fall to ruin" (164, ἀτασθάλου) because "he was the first to contrive shameful deeds" (166, πρῶτερος γὰρ ἀεικέα μήσατο ἔργα) against the family.

The specific act of outrage which Hesiod focusses on is Ouranos's attempt to destroy his own children. "As soon as any one of these would first come into being,/ he used to hide all away in a secret place of Gaia/ and he would not send them forth into the light" (156 - 158, τῶν μὲν ὅπως τις πρῶτα γένοιτο,/ πάντας ἀποκρύπτασκε καὶ ἐς φάος οὐκ ἀνίεσκε/ Γαίης ἐν κευθμῶνι).[6] Ouranos, in fact, "rejoices in this evil deed" (158, κακῷ δ' ἐπετέρπετο ἔργῳ). In this perversion of joy, Ouranos stands in stark contrast to another father-figure. In the Proem, as one recalls, Zeus rejoices (*cf.* 37) in the existence and poetic creativity of his Muse-offspring. Part of Ouranos's evil deed as father is the great distress that he brings to Gaia, his wife and mother. In response to her own and her childrens' suffering, Gaia "ponders upon" (160, ἐπεφράσσατο) and then "creates" (161, ποιήσασα) the first weapon of the poem. She "fashions a great sickle/ of grey adamant" (161 - 162, πολιοῦ ἀδάμαντος/ τεῦξε μέγα δρέπανον). Hesiod calls this sickle a "deceitful and evil *tekhne*" (160, δολίην δὲ κακὴν . . . τέχνην).[7] Nevertheless, Gaia's *tekhne* seems to be the only "art" by means of which she can defend herself and her children against the heinous crime of a father.

With the sickle as a sign of her physical courage and astute intelligence, Gaia "gives counsel to her own children" (162, ἐπέφραδε παισὶ φίλοισιν). She "encourages" (163, θαρσύνουσα) them to take up the cause of vengeance. Her motive is the shameful behaviour of a father who does not respect the rights of others in his divine household. Only Kronos "crooked-of-counsel" (168, ἀγκυλομήτης)[8] responds to his mother's urging. Cursing Ouranos as "a father not to-be-named" (171, πατρός γε δυσωνύμου οὐκ),[9] Kronos can also be regarded as reviling the very word "father." At this point Gaia "hides [Kronos] in an ambush" (174, κρύψασα λόχῳ) and he undertakes the castration of Ouranos as "she instructs" (175, δόλον δ' ὑπεθήκατο πάντα) him. In this, the first of the pre-Zeus dynasties, then, the concept of "father" is associated both with crimes committed against the family and with a weapon born out of deceit and designed, by matching "evil with evil," to remedy an intolerable situation. Viewed from this perspective, Gaia's "deceitful *tekhne*," her sickle, is the first act leading to the restoration of order and justice in the Kosmos.

For events later connected with Zeus, the most significant victims of Ouranos's hatred are the Kyklopes and the Hekatoncheires. "They were hated by their own father/ right from the beginning" (155 - 156, σφετέρῳ δ' ἤχθοντο τοκῆι/ ἐξ ἀρχῆς). Hesiod's description of these gods prior to lines 155 ff. implies that Ouranos's hatred might have been related to their appearance and size. Although the reader is told that the Kyklopes are "like the gods" (142, θεοῖς ἐναλίγκιοι), nevertheless, they are also dramatically different. Each has "only one eye placed in the middle of the forehead" (143, μοῦνος δ' ὀφθαλμὸς μέσσῳ ἐνέκειτο μετώπῳ). This

extraordinary eye is what sets the Kyklopes apart,[10] and must be what first draws a father's attention to them. While the Kyklopes' most notable characteristic is their single eye, they also possess "physical strength" (146, ἰσχὺς), "force" (βίη), and the "skill of an artificer" (μηχαναὶ). It is uncertain in what way their eye contributes to their skill as craftsmen, but, clearly, vision is a pre-eminent part of their being.[11] Their names are as unique as their single eyes. The Kyklops "Brontes" (140, Βρόντην) fashions the thunder (βροντήν); "Steropes" (Στερόπην) crafts the lightning (στεροπήν); and, finally, Arges (Ἄργην) is the "bright" (ἀργῆς) flash of the thunderbolt.[12] Hesiod anticipates the crucial alliance struck between Zeus and the Kyklopes later in the *Theogony* by telling the reader that the lightning and the thunderbolt will someday become the weapons by means of which Zeus begins his accession to power.

It is strange that Ouranos fails to recognize the potential usefulness, for his dynasty, of the Kyklopes' arsenal. Instead, his suppression of their very existence implies his great fear of their weapons. And well he might be afraid. The flame of the lightning will dim his own stars (127, Οὐρανὸν ἀστερόεντ'), and the sound of the thunder will disturb the tranquility of his heavens. Such brilliance and din are indications, for him, of the Kyklopes' "arrogant heart" (139, ὑπέρβιον ἦτορ), and the challenge they present to his rule over the Kosmos. Arges, in particular, is identified with the most violent temper of these "spirited" (140, ὀβριμόθυμον) offspring. While the effects of his brothers are purely auditory or visual, his touch destroys.[13] Perhaps this is why Ouranos, as the Sky-god, banishes his sons from his sight.

He hides them away in the deep chasms of Gaia, as far distant as possible from his heavens.

Ouranos's other set of hated children, the Hekatoncheires, are pretenders too. They are giants[14] who may well be able to reach their father's realm and threaten his secure dwelling-place. Their sheer size and multiple limbs make the Hekatoncheires formidable opponents. Kottos, Briareos, and Gyges, like their brother, the Kyklopes, are called "arrogant children" (149, ὑπερήφανα τέκνα). Each is characterized by "a hundred hands springing forth from his shoulders" (150, τῶν ἑκατὸν μὲν χεῖρες ἀπ' ὤμων ἅίσσοντο)[15] and "fifty . . . heads" (151, κεφαλαὶ . . . πεντήκοντα) looming above. Hesiod's description invites, at first, a response of horror from the reader. The *aoidos* calls these giants "unapproachable" (ἄπλαστοι). In fact, some scholars, such as Brown, regard both the Hekatoncheires and the Kyklopes as monsters.[16]

It is important, however, to remember what the term "monster" literally means. The English word derives from the Latin *monstrum*[17] which refers to "an unnatural thing," "an omen," "a portent," or "a prodigy." Both the Kyklopes and the Hekatoncheires appear to differ in some way from the norm of the divine, although Hesiod has nowhere described the physical appearance of the other gods. The reader can understand how a single eye or a flash of lightning or a thunderbolt or a hundred hands or fifty heads might appear to be "unnatural," "a portent" that would strike fear into a father. If the Kyklopes and the Hekatoncheires are "prodigies," representatives of "abnormal phenomen[a],"[18] this abnormality is also central to the momentous events that precipitate Zeus's ultimate victory:

the unnatural or chaotic, transformed by Zeus into the natural and orderly.

Hesiod concludes his narrative about the first dynasty in the Kosmos with a father reviling his children. He names them "Titans . . ./ children of quarrels" (207 - 208, Τιτῆνας . . ./ παῖδας νεικείων). He further condemns them as progeny who have "stretched" (209, τιταίνοντας) themselves too far and who will suffer "vengeance" (210, τίσιν) in the future for their "wickedness" (209, ἀτασθαλίῃ). It would seem, then, that the Kyklopes and the Hekatoncheires unintentionally create the occasion for a father to challenge the autonomy and the security of all his children in general.[19] But the significance that Hesiod places on Ouranos's rejection of his own children must be balanced by the *aoidos's* concern with the alliances formed between the goddesses of this dynasty with Zeus, the grandson of Ouranos.

In the narrative following Ouranos's curse, Hesiod describes the decisive role of Styx, Hekate, and Gaia in the emergence of Zeus's new order. The three goddesses, as members of the Titan regime, provide a link between the old and the new orders in the Kosmos. Each possesses individual gifts which will make them indispensable in the shaping of Zeus's eventual glory.

The first of these goddesses is Styx, whom Hesiod praises as the "most excellent" (361, προφερεστάτη) of the 3,000 daughters of Tethys and Okeanos. Unlike her uncles, the Kyklopes and the Hekatoncheires, Styx enjoys a positive relationship with her father. This daughter of Ocean marries Pallas, her cousin, and from their union come four "glorious" (385, ἀριδείκετα) children: "Glory" (384, Ζῆλον),[20] "Victory" (Νίκην),[21]

"Power" (385, Κράτος),[22] and "Force" (Βίην).[23] "Styx, the imperishable daughter of Okeanos, planned" (389, ἐβούλευσε Στὺξ ἄφθιτος Ὠκεανίνη) that her children would "always dwell beside loud-thundering Zeus" (388, αἰεὶ πὰρ Ζηνὶ βαρυκτύπῳ ἑδριόωνται). Guided "by the counsels of her father" (398, διὰ μήδεα πατρός),[24] Styx brings "her beloved children" (σφοῖσιν παίδεσσι φίλου) to Olympos and forms an alliance among herself, her children and Zeus.

"The Olympian Lightener/ summons all the immortal gods" (390 - 391, πάντας Ὀλύμπιος ἀστεροπητὴς/ ἀθανάτους ἐκάλεσσε θεούς) to an assembly where he announces the rules for the new order, *his* divine Kosmos. Styx is the first of the immortals to come to Olympos. Zeus begins by warning the gods of imminent war between himself and the Titans. Next, he reveals that "whoever of the gods will fight with him against the Titans/ he will not deprive of any privileges" (392 - 393, ὅς κ' ἐθέλῃ θεῶν Τιτῆσι μάχοιτο,/ μή τιν' ἀπορραίσειν γεράων). He decrees that "each will have the honour which he formerly held" (393 - 394, τιμὴν δὲ ἕκαστον/ ἐξέμεν ἣν τὸ πάρος) and, that each will receive further honour and privilege "which is lawful" (396, ἣ θέμις ἐστίν). The image Zeus projects of Kronos and a dynasty that has yet to be described by Hesiod (i.e. Kronos's) is one of a father and a king who "dishonours" (395, ἄτιμος) those who serve him. In contrast, Styx's alliance with Zeus gives him the opportunity to display both his respect for his fellow divinities and his gratitude for their allegiance. He confers upon Styx a gift in return for her bestowal upon him of the greatness of her children.[25] This is the gift of the Oath (400, ὅρκον): the first concrete manifestation of the order that Zeus later represents and the seal of this, the first covenant in the *Theogony*.

Hesiod exalts the sacredness of the Oath and the person of Styx in an extended passage towards the end of the poem (775 - 806). Styx is a river whose waters "flow through the black night" (788, ῥέει διὰ νύκτα μέλαιναν) and in a mysterious way they bend away from Okeanos's "silver whirlpools" (791, δίνῃς ἀργυρέῃς) and tumble into the precipice of Tartaros. As a "tenth . . . part" (789, δεκάτη . . . μοῖρα) of Okeanos, the everflowing waters of Styx are thus envisoned as always cycling both above the earth and down into the Underworld.

Zeus, in recognition of Styx's gift of her children, establishes her "celebrated" (785, πολυώνυμον) waters as the ultimate test of "truth" in his Kosmos. Just as the Muses pour sweet dew upon the tongues of kings and *aoidoi* so that their mouths will utter true things, so Styx's waters are the means by which Zeus determines which of his fellow gods "speaks falsely" (783, ψεύδηται). Both here and in the Proem, Zeus's concern is that lies are destructive of the justice and order he wishes for society.

Whenever a god has "foresworn" (793, ἐπίορκον) his oath on Styx, Zeus brings him near to death. For one year he experiences a "coma" (798, κῶμα); he tastes neither "ambrosia nor nectar" (796, ἀμβροσίης καὶ νέκταρος); he "lies without drawing breath" (797, κεῖται ἀνάπνευστος καὶ ἄναυδος); the deity suffers for the "disease" (799, νοῦσον) of breaking his oath. For nine years the same god "is [also] deprived" (801, ἀπαμείρεται) of the company and "festivals" (802, δαῖτας) of the gods on Olympos: he is in total exile from all that is sacred. So mighty is an oath taken on Styx's "primaeval/ water" (805 - 806, ὕδωρ,/ ὠγύγιον,) it is not until the tenth year that the god who has broken his solemn word is restored to the prestige and privilege of divinity.

If, then, Styx is a "goddess hateful to the immortals" (775, στυγερὴ θεὸς ἀθανάτοισι), and her name personifies hate,[26] it is only because this deity holds up the mirror of a god's dishonesty to him. Styx is a potent weapon of Zeus; she confronts a god with the knowledge of how despicable he is: how far he has fallen from Zeus's ideal of justice. Zeus rewards Styx with a "glorious house" (777, κλυτὰ δώματα). Her palace is "roofed over with immense rocks" (778, μακρῇσιν πέτρῃσι κατηρεφέ) and encircled with "silver columns soaring aloft towards heaven" (779, κίοσιν ἀργυρέοισι πρὸς οὐρανὸν ἐστήρικται). Although erected deep within Tartaros, Styx's abode has some of the loftiness of Zeus's snowy mountain-top dwelling. As great as Styx's palace is, her place of privilege is overshadowed by that of Hekate, the second goddess of the Titan dynasty to form an alliance with Zeus.

In lines 404 - 452 Hesiod fashions an extended hymn of praise to Hekate.[27] This goddess, unlike her older cousin, Styx, is not restricted to any single geographic territory. Hesiod celebrates Hekate as one who "has a portion [of power] over both the earth and the barren sea" (413, μοῖραν ἔχειν γαίης τε καὶ ἀτρυγέτοιο θαλάσσης), as well as in the realm of "starry . . . heaven" (414, ἀστερόεντος . . . οὐρανοῦ). The scope of the goddess's activities foreshadow the all-encompassing nature of Zeus's world-order after he consolidates his power. Hekate not only unites the universe, but, she also acts as "the crucial intermediary between gods and men."[28]

Hesiod begins the central section of his hymn by discussing Hekate's prominent role in the ritual of sacrifice.[29] "Whenever any mortal man/ offers holy sacrifices in due propiation of the gods" (416 - 417, ὅτε πού

τις ἐπιχθονίων ἀνθρώπων/ ἔρδων ἱερὰ καλὰ κατὰ νόμον ἱλάσκηται), it seems that he must "invoke Hekate" (418, κικλήσκει Ἑκάτην). Such a concentration upon Hekate, even though there are many other gods who could be summoned, is a persistent feature of this hymn. On these solemn occasions the crucial factor is to obtain the favour of the goddess. Those prayers which Hekate receives "with a well-disposed mind" (419, πρόφρων) are answered both with a gift of "honour" (418, τιμὴ) to her suppliant and, also, "with great ease" (419, ῥεῖα μάλ') on her part.

The meaning of the name Hekate provides a clue to the goddess's ease of action. The noun denotes "she who works her will."[30] The goddess Hekate, then, has something in common with the Muses, Zeus's daughters. She dispenses favours to mortals, just as the Muses dispense the inspiration of "truth" to their favourite *aoidos*. All of these divine women act only on the basis of "consent" (429, ᾧ δ' ἐθέλῃ), that is, they give gifts to whomever *they* "please."[31] While the Muses are unique for their gift of song, Hekate has an innate "capability" to bring out the "potential" (420, δύναμίς)[32] greatness in every person or in every sphere of activity in which she chooses to participate. Thus when Hesiod refers to the "wealth" or "happiness" (ὄλβον) that the goddess bestows when she answers the prayers of mortals, he is not necessarily alluding to any material wealth. Rather the goddess works to help her suppliant fulfil the promise he has within himself: his ability to reach his peak at the critical moment.

Perhaps Hekate's most forceful characteristic as a divinity is her willingness to "stand beside" (439, παρεστάμεν)[33] those whom she assists. In contrast to Zeus who calls assemblies (*cf.* 391) or who has dialogue

with fellow gods in order to form covenants (*cf.* 644 - 653), Hekate prefers to work as a silent and unseen partner of those who need her in the mortal world. Nevertheless, Hekate has the power to intervene in every important sphere of human endeavour. In fact, if West's reordering of lines 430 - 439 is correct, Hekate's authority within her own Kosmos follows a strict hierarchical pattern.[34] The goddess moves from "the side of revered kings" (434, *βασιλεῦσι παρ' αἰδοίοισι*) into the midst of the "assemblies of the people" (430, *ἀγορῇ λαοῖσι*). Thereafter "she readily gives victory and offers glory/ to whom she pleases" (432 - 433, *οἷς κ' ἐθέλῃσι/ νίκην προφρονέως ὀπάσαι καὶ κῦδος ὀρέξαι*), whether "warriors" (431 - 432, *θωρήσσωνται/ ἀνέρες*) or "knights" (439, *ἱππήεσσι*). Next, she moves from the sphere of athletic "competition" (435, *ἀγῶνι*) to the "gray stormy sea" (440, *γλαυκὴν δυσπέμφελον*), where "the glorious goddess easily gives a great catch/ and [just as] easily takes it away" (442 - 443, *ῥηιδίως ἄγρην κυδρὴ θεὸς ὤπασε πολλήν,/ ῥεῖα δ' ἀφείλετο*).[35] Finally, she enters the world of the herdsman, where with Hermes, she "increases" (444, *ἀέξειν*) or "decreases" (447, *μείονα θῆκεν*) "the herds of oxen" (445, *βουκολίας δὲ βοῶν*) and "the flocks of goats/ and fleecy sheep" (445 - 446, *αἰγῶν/ ποίμνας τ' εἰροπόκων ὀίων*).[36] Thus Hekate oversees the daily affairs of society at every level: the legal and judicial, the military and athletic, and the financial.[37]

The special character of Hekate derives from her status as an "only child." This attribute, *μουνογενής*, is mentioned twice (in 426 and 448) by the *aoidos* and joined the second time with the signal honours and offices that Zeus bestows upon her. In so doing, however, Zeus is not granting his second cousin new privileges but, rather, reaffirming and

strengthening, by his acknowledgement, privileges that she has long held in the Kosmos. As Hesiod's narrative unfolds after this hymn, it becomes clear how singular both Hekate and Zeus are as offspring who bring honour to their line and well-being to those mortals and immortals who depend upon them. As Hesiod ends his hymn he reveals an office which Hekate has always held, although previously unmentioned. This is her role as "nurturer of the young"[38] (450 and 452, κουροτρόφος). This important role anticipates the special relationship between the third potent goddess, Gaia, and her "son", Zeus.

Gaia is more than just a nurturer of children: in Hesiod's account, she is envisioned as the saviour of the Olympian dynasty. Her role as saviour begins when she and Ouranos attempt to counsel their son Kronos.[39] Perhaps it is Gaia's existence almost from the beginning of "time" (as it is conceived of in the *Theogony*), that gives this goddess the authority to act as both counsellor and prophet.[40] The reader has already observed how she apprised her children of the shameful behaviour of her son and consort, Ouranos. On that occasion, Kronos obeyed his mother and violently deposed his father from his position of kingship over the immortals. Now Gaia predicts that Kronos, himself, "is fated to be overpowered by his own son" (464, πέπρωτο ἑῷ ὑπὸ παιδὶ δαμῆναι), a son not yet born, "great Zeus" (465, Διὸς μεγάλου). Gaia's prophecy reveals a view of the Kosmos that transcends the self-centred desires of one child and looks toward the well-being of the community of the gods as a whole: Gaia's suffering has transformed her into an astute political being.[41]

By contrast Kronos shows no such capacity for sophisticated political behaviour. Right from the beginning Kronos "intends that no

other of the illustrious Ouranids/ should have royal honour among the immortals" (461 - 462, τὰ φρονέων, ἵνα μή τις ἀγαυῶν Οὐρανιώνων/ ἄλλος ἐν ἀθανάτοισιν ἔχοι βασιληίδα τιμήν). His actions are, in effect, not only tyrannical, but also impious in their attempt to obstruct the fulfilment of the prophecy which Gaia reveals.[42] Following the example of his father, Kronos moves to destroy the children conceived by his wife and sister, Rheia (Histia/Hestia, Demeter, Hera, Hades, Poseidon, and Zeus). If anything, Kronos's conduct is more repulsive than that of Ouranos. For, as each of the Olympians was born, Kronos would "gulp down the child" (467, παῖδας ἑοὺς κατέπινε).[43] The swallowing of his own flesh and blood may be Kronos's attempt to contain within himself the powers he divines are inherent in his offspring. He does not commit his crime out of fear, as Ouranos does but, rather, out of greed and ambition.

Kronos's plans for personal glory seem, however, to lack the intelligence that his epithet "crooked-of-counsel" (473, ἀγκυλομήτης) implies. For example, he is guilty of hubris[44] in his refusal to transmit his sovereign powers to a successor. He neither supports the concept of hierarchy, nor the structure and the role of the family within his divine society. His behaviour differs from that of Zeus who, as we shall see in Chapters 4 and 5, insists on preserving a strict hierarchy within the Olympian domain: under him every god has his or her rightful place of honour and duties to perform within the Kosmos. Kronos is both "foolish and blind" (488, σχέτλιος, οὐδ' ἐνόησε μετὰ φρεσίν). He is so blind, in fact, that this wily god swallows a stone (a trick devised by Gaia) instead of his son, Zeus. It is the infant Zeus who is qualified as "unconquerable and without care" (489, ἀνίκητος καὶ ἀκηδὴς), one who "is

destined, having subdued [his father] by force and by his hands,/ to drive him from his office, and to rule over the immortals" (490 - 491, ἔμελλε βίῃ καὶ χερσὶ δαμάσσας/ τιμῆς ἐξελάαν, ὅ δ' ἐν ἀθανάτοισιν ἀνάξειν).[45] Thus even before Kronos has been formally deposed by the union of Gaia and Zeus (494 ff.), his power of intellect is superseded by that of Zeus and his majesty as king has vanished.

Gaia is the guiding intelligence in the story of Kronos's downfall and the rise of Zeus. The giver of prophecy now takes part in seeing it to its fulfilment. Gaia devises a strategem to deceive her son, Kronos, at the moment of Zeus's birth. It is then that she takes on the powers of a Hekate and becomes a *kourotrophos*,[46] the nurse and surrogate mother of Zeus. "Mighty Gaia received him/ in wide Krete[47] [in order] to nourish and to rear him" (479 - 480, τὸν μέν οἱ ἐδέξατο Γαῖα πελώρη/ Κρήτῃ ἐν εὐρείῃ τρεφέμεν ἀτιταλλέμεναί τε), and "taking him in her arms she hid/ him in a deep cave, under the depths of her holy earth" (482 - 483, κρύψεν δέ ἑ χερσὶ λαβοῦσα/ ἄντρῳ ἐν ἠλιβάτῳ, ζαθέης ὑπὸ κεύθεσι γαίης). Gaia's extraordinary concern for Zeus sets the god apart as an "only" child. Here, the reader can see a parallel between Hekate and Zeus. But while Hekate is, literally, an only child, Zeus is "only" in the sense that he is raised apart, to be the superior child of the Olympian offspring.

Hesiod's account of the birth of Zeus has been described by Clay as "the focal event of divine and cosmic history."[48] The poet announces the dramatic entry of Zeus into the narrative through an extended epithet, focussing, first, on his "intelligence" (457, μητιόεντα), second, on his symbolic role as "father of both gods and men" (θεῶν πατέρ' ἠδὲ καὶ

ἀνδρῶν),[49] and, third, on his control of a "thunder [that] makes the wide land tremble" (458, βροντῆς πελεμίζεται εὐρεῖα χθών). The physical presence of Zeus is suddenly real, tangible. From this point to the end of the poem, Zeus dominates -- Zeus is the centre of all action.

After the first extended epithet, the poet lauds Zeus in a series of references that define his nature. The reader learns that Kronos will be conquered "through the plans of great Zeus" (465, Διὸς μεγάλου διὰ βουλάς), that is, by his son's sharp intellect. In line 468, Zeus's title "father of both gods and men" (θεῶν πατέρ' ἠδὲ καὶ ἀνδρῶν) is granted to the god even before his birth. In line 476, the poet describes Zeus as Rheia's "mighty-hearted son" (υἱέι καρτεροθύμῳ).[50] Finally, Zeus's coming to maturity is dramatized by reference to his "strength" (492, μένος), his "shining limbs" (φαίδιμα γυῖα) and, in line 493, to his title as *anax* (lord). These attributes uniting both physical and political powers are as much a portent as is Zeus's act of setting up the stone to commemorate his own and his siblings' liberation from their father. Placed "in most holy Pytho" (499, Πυθοῖ ἐν ἠγαθέῃ):[51] the stone is both a "marvel for future men to behold" (500, σῆμ' ἔμεν ἐξοπίσω, θαῦμα θνητοῖσι βροτοῖσι) and the preliminary rite to Zeus's restoration of life to the Kyklopes.

It is this subsequent action which firmly establishes Zeus's authority. Hesiod, by placing the verb λῦσε at the beginning of this crucial passage, stresses the god's authority "to loosen" bonds or "to liberate" those unfairly treated. Zeus "released his father's brothers from their deadly bonds,/ the sons of Ouranos, whom their father had bound in his thoughtlessness" (501 - 502, λῦσε δὲ πατροκασιγνήτους ὀλοῶν ὑπὸ δεσμῶν,/ Οὐρανίδας, οὓς δῆσε πατὴρ ἀεσιφροσύνῃσιν). The reader has

already perceived some of the importance ascribed to thunder, lightning, and the thunderbolt as attributes of Zeus (*cf.* 72, 141, 388, 390, and 458). Now he is made witness to the drama of these weapons being conferred upon the god, for, in gratitude for their release, the Kyklopes "gave [him] the thunder and the blazing thunderbolt/ and the lightning" (504 - 505, δῶκαν δὲ βροντὴν ἠδ' αἰθαλόεντα κεραυνὸν/ καὶ στεροπήν). In this scene of an exchange of gifts,[52] Zeus initiates the first of his alliances with gods of the old regime, an alliance anticipated by his covenant with Styx (*cf.* 390 - 401). One must also assume, as Mondi does,[53] that Zeus now takes his seat as king of the gods. The significance of the thunder and the lightning is clear: with these weapons, Zeus secures his power, and the thunderbolt, alone, acts as a sceptre, the unique symbol of Zeus's divine sovereignty.[54]

In line 506 Hesiod acknowledges Zeus's reliance" (πίσυνος) on the gifts of the Kyklopes for his ability "to be lord" (ἀνάσσει). The Kyklopes *per se* disappear from the text after line 144; only their names, which are synonymous with the weapons they craft, remain. Although Hesiod relates how the Kyklopes are the artisans of these attributes of Zeus's power, there is no evidence that they themselves actually use the weapons.[55] It is Zeus who causes the resounding of thunder, who flashes the lightning, and who wields the thunderbolt. In fact, Mondi[56] speculates,

> that the original idea was that they made nothing, but gave *themselves* to Zeus. That is, as the personification of thunder and lightning, merely by standing at Zeus' side they were bestowing upon him what they were, . . . endowing him with the qualities which their names imply.

The alliance formed between Zeus and the Kyklopes, then, is one based on the principle of symbiosis or assimilation. Both parties to the alliance benefit by their mutual association: Zeus, through the power implicit in the Kyklopes' weapons of fire; and, the Kyklopes themselves, whom Zeus "honours" whenever he uses the thunder, the lightning, and the thunderbolt.[57]

Vernant, in his comments on Zeus's relationship with the Kyklopes, focusses on what he calls the "puissance primordiale du feu l'outil que peut manier le nouveau souverain."[58] Thus in lines 501 - 506 Hesiod concludes his account of the origin of the Titan and Olympian dynasties with a brief and compelling vision of Zeus as sovereign, holding his new weapons. In the central section of the poem, Zeus will face three challenges to his position. He will not succeed against his opponents until he has gained full control of his weapons, in particular, fire; a fire which gleams forth both from the lightning and from the thunderbolt, his sceptre.

FOOTNOTES

1. The title of Chapter 3 is a translation of *Theogony* 457 - 458, Ζῆνά . . . /τοῦ καὶ ὑπὸ βροντῆς πελεμίζεται εὐρεῖα χθών.

2. Hesiod does not feel obliged to explain the exact origin of these first beings. They appear spontaneously and their origin remains a mystery.

3. In line 117, ἕδος ἀσφαλὲς is in apposition to Γαῖ' -- "Gaia . . . a secure dwelling place." Line 128 is a purpose clause: ὄφρ εἴη . . . ἕδος ἀσφαλὲς -- "in order that he might be a secure dwelling place." Gaia created Ouranos for a specific purpose.

4. For a full discussion of the significance of Kronos as the youngest son and his role in the *Theogony*, *cf.* West, pp. 204 - 205.

5. F. Solmsen, "The Earliest Stages in the History of Hesiod's Text," *HSPh* 86 (1982), p. 3, says that "the reason for Kronos' hatred of his father is the latter's treatment of his entire offspring."

6. It is unclear from the text which children are prevented from coming to birth and where they are actually hidden. Apollodorus I.1.2, says that they were sent to Tartaros.

7. *LSJ*, *s.v.* τέχνη, "art," "skill," or "cunning of hand, esp. in metal working." It also denotes the "way," "manner," or "means whereby a thing is gained." West, p. 215, defines the word as "trick," especially when used in conjunction with δολίη which means "crafty," or "deceitful." *LSJ*, *s.v.* δόλιος. In the *Theogony*, τέχνη is usually associated with Prometheus (*cf.* Ch. 4).

8. *LSJ*, *s.v.* ἀγκυλομήτης. The first part of the epithet ἀγκυλα- means "curved," like the "curvature of the bow" (*Il.* 5.209, ἀγκύλα τόξα) or the "beaked head" (Pindar *Pyth.* I.8, ἀγκύλῳ κρατί) of the eagle of Zeus. Kronos's daring is matched by his "intellect" (-μήτης), which, like the sickle "with its jagged teeth" (175, καρχαρόδοντα), cuts with a keen edge. The epithet came to mean "wily, i.e. of wily/crooked counsel." *Cf.* West, p. 158, who, citing Cook, v. II, pp. 549 ff., says that the epithet "was originally, in all probability, 'Kronos of the curved sickle' . . . [b]ut it was already understood as 'Kronos of the bent μήτης' by Hesiod's time."

9. *LSJ*, *s.v.* δυσώνυμος, "bearing an ill name." *Cf.* West, p. 217, who says that δυσωνύμου is used "in the sense of οὐκ ὀνομαστός, "not to be named."

10. The ancient world recognized three different groups of Kyklopes: the crafters of Zeus's thunderbolt (Hes. *Th.* 139 ff.); those who fortified the walls of Tiryns (Apollodorus II.2.1); and Polyphemus (Hom. *Od.* 9.255 ff.). All were distinguished by having only one eye. In the Hellenistic age, Callimachus, in his *Eis Artemin* in *Hymni et Epigrammata*, II, ed. R. Pfeiffer (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1953), portrays the Kyklopes as the artisans who make Artemis's first bow and arrows, while Apollonius Rhodius, *Argonautica*, ed. H. Frankel (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1961; reprint 1964 & 1986), 1.730 - 734, describes the Kyklopes at work on a thunderbolt for Zeus:

> Ἐν μὲν ἔσαν Κύκλωπες ἐπ' ἀφθίτῳ ἡμμένοι ἔργῳ,
> Ζηνὶ κεραυνὸν ἄνακτι πονεύμενοι· ὃς τόσον ἤδη
> παμφαίνων ἐτέτυκτο, μιῆς δ' ἔτι δεύετο μοῦνον
> ἀκτῖνος· τὴν οἵγε σιδηρείῃς ἐλάασκον
> σφύρῃσιν, μαλεροῖο πυρὸς ζείουσαν ἀυτμήν.
>
> (The Kyklopes were seated at work on an imperishable, thunderbolt for Zeus the lord; already fully-wrought [and] shining brightly, it was missing only one ray; it seethed with glowing fire as they struck the fiery [bolt] with their iron hammers.)

11. *Cf.* Cook, v. I, pp. 320 - 323 and v. II, pt. 1, pp. 501 - 505.

12. The exception is the thunderbolt (κεραυνός). The name of the third Kyklops, Arges (ἀργής) is a "formulaic epithet of "κεραυνός" (*cf.* West, p. 207).

13. According to Cook, v. II, pt. 1, p. 11, κεραυνός means "the 'destroyer' . . . the bright white flash in its destructive capacity."

14. Nowhere does Hesiod specify that the Kyklopes are giants. *Cf.* S. Rautenbach, "Cyclopes (I)," *AClass* 27 (1984), p. 41, who says of the Kyklopes, there is "no room to doubt that all three groups [*cf.* n. 10] were giants," and Solmsen (1982), p. 4, who also says that the Kyklopes "are giants."

15. *LSJ*, *s.v.* ἀΐσσω. ἀΐσσω denotes "rapid motion;" here, perhaps anticipating the role of the Hekatoncheires in the Titanomachy (*cf.* Ch. 4).

16. Brown, p. 24, says:

> "The Cyclopes and the Hundred-Arms are both symbols of the monstrous violence in the cosmos: both of them have freakish physical traits which makes them monsters."

Cf. Sale, pp. 668 ff.

17. P.G.W. Glare, *Oxford Latin Dictionary* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982), hereafter cited as *OLD*, *s.v. monstrum*.

18. *OLD*, *s.v. portentum*, an "abnormal phenomenon," "portent;" "something unnatural," or "extraordinary," "prodigy," a "strange or abnormal creature." It also denotes "abnormal growth."

19. I assume that *all* of Ouranos's children are "Titans," although, Solmsen (1982), p. 4, says, that the Kyklopes and the Hekatoncheires "are not Titans."

20. *LSJ*, *s.v.* ζῆλος, "jealousy," "more usu. in a good sense, eager rivalry," "emulation," "pride," "honour," "glory." *Cf.* West, p. 272: "'Glory', not envying for being envied."

21. *LSJ*, *s.v.* νίκη, "victory." νίκη derives from the verb νικάω, "conquer, "prevail in battle, in the games, or in any contest;" "be superior."

22. *LSJ*, *s.v.* κρατέω, "rule," "be lord," "be powerful."

23. *LSJ*, *s.v.* βία [βίη]. βία denotes "bodily strength," "force."

24. R. Hamilton, *The Architecture of Hesiodic Poetry* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989), p. 21, says: "This is usually taken to refer to Styx's biological father Oceanus although he elsewhere plays no part in advising anyone, but it probably refers to her spiritual father Zeus, who has just given her advice." But *cf.* Aes. *Prom.* 309 - 326, where Okeanos gives advice to Prometheus.

25. The greatness of Styx's children is contained in the qualities inherent in their names: Glory, Victory, Power, and Force.

26. *LSJ*, s.v. στυγέω, "hate." The name Styx denotes "the Hateful." The verb στυγέω "is stronger than μισέω, for it means *to show hatred*, not merely to feel it."

27. Hekate in the *Theogony* assumes a very different role than she will in later literature. *Cf.* Eur. *Medea*, 394 ff. for her associations with sorcery and black magic. Hekate also shares many functions with Artemis, in particular, in her role as a *kourotrophos* (*cf.* n. 38). For a discussion of the cult of Hekate and representations of the goddess in art, *cf.* P.A. Marquardt, "A Portrait of Hekate," AJPh 102 (1981), esp. pp. 250 ff.

28. Clay (1984) p. 37.

29. *Ibid*, p. 35: "the goddess designated as *kourotrophos* was sometimes given the right of first sacrifice."

30. *LSJ*, *s.v.* Ἑκάτη. *Cf.* Clay (1984), pp. 34 - 35, who says that "if [one has] "been successful . . . it is *by the will* of Zeus, ἕκητι Διός, or another divinity, and Hecate has played her role as intermediary."

31. *LSJ*, *s.v.* ἐθέλω. The Hekate episode features several instances of the verb ἐθέλω (*cf.* 420, 432, 439, 443, and 446). The verb was also used in line 28 to describe how the Muses dispense "truth" -- "when we wish." In line 443, it implies the role of "luck" in the lives of men.

32. *LSJ*, *s.v.* δύναμις, "power," "might;" "ability to do anything;" "influence," "authority;" "faculty," any "natural capacity;" "potentiality."

33. "Stand beside" -- Hekate appears to look over one's shoulder and watch over one, as did the Roman Lares (spirits of the familial hearth), silent and unseen.

34. West's reordering of lines 426 - 439 sets up an absolute hierarchy from the highest to the lowest class in society. Here is a concordance of the lines according to:

West	Lattimore	Evelyn-White	Solmsen
kings(434)	assemblies(430)	kings(434)	kings(434)
assemblies(430)	warriors(431)	assemblies(430)	assemblies(430)
warriors(431)		warriors(431)	warriors(431)
	kings(434)		
knights(439)	athletes(435)	athletes(435)	athletes(435)
athletes(435)			
	knights(439)	knights(439)	knights(439)
fishermen(440)	fishermen(440)	fishermen(440)	fishermen(440)

Brown omits the knights in his translation of the *Theogony*.

35. *cf.* Zeus in *W & D* 3 - 7.

36. Hermes is the god of herdsmen. *Cf. h. to Hermes.*

37. Several of these areas, e.g. law and justice, will reappear in the conclusion of the poem as the offspring of Zeus (*cf.* Ch. 5).

38. The goddess Artemis is also a "nurturer of the young." *Cf.* Aes. *Ag.* 140 - 144.

39. Ouranos appears as a mere appendage of Gaia in the narrative from this point. The prophecy is essentially Gaia's.

40. In Aes. *Eum.* 2, Gaia is called the "first prophet" (πρωτόμαντιν).

41. Aes. *Ag.* 177, "there is wisdom in suffering" (*πάθει μάθος*).

42. The consequences of thwarting a prophecy can be severe. Oidipous tries to thwart a prophecy -- an humane, but impious act. Herodotos I.34, describes how Croesus tries to avoid a prophecy given to him in a dream, but as it was predicted, his son, Atys, is killed by an iron spear (I.43).

43. Another example of a myth with the theme of eating children is that of Tantalus and his descendents, i.e. the House of Atreus.

44. *LSJ*, *s.v.* *ὕβρις*, "excessive pride," "ambition." *Cf.* Rowe (1978), pp. 78 - 79.

45. Kronos and Zeus share a common motif -- the youngest born overthrows his father and rules in his place.

46. *Cf.* Arthur, p. 71; Pascal, p. 20.

47. *Cf.* West, pp. 290 - 293, on the "conflation" of two different myths on the birth and youth of Zeus.

48. Clay (1984), p. 37.

49. Hamilton, p. 13, treats this epithet literally when he says "if Gaia and Ouranos produced the gods, Zeus can hardly be called the 'father' of the gods." In fact, the epithet is symbolic and denotes the honour and the prestige which Zeus commands as the supreme god of the pantheon. Sale, p. 673, calls Zeus the "spiritual 'father' of gods and men."

50. *LSJ*, *s.v.* *καρτερόθυμω*, "mighty-hearted." *καρτερόθυμω* is formed from *καρτερός* (*=κρατερός*), "strong," "mighty," and *θυμός*, "soul;" also "heart." There are resonances of the expression used by Vergil, *Aen.* I.260, when he describes Aeneas as *magnanimum*, "great-souled."

51. Pytho (Delphi) was sacred to Apollo.

52. Arthur (1982), p. 64 ff. says that this alliance is one based on "gift-exchange."

53. R. Mondi, "The Ascension of Zeus and the Composition of Hesiod's *Theogony*," *GRBS* 25 (1984), p. 335, says: "The elevation of Zeus to the throne previously held by his father is . . . the climactic moment in Hesiod's vision of divine history; yet in the text of his poem it is not at all clear at what point this climactic moment actually occurs." Mondi feels that it is Zeus's victory over the Titans "which *first* establishes [him] in power" (p. 333).

54. E. Pascal, "Le mythe de l'origine du pouvoir dans la *Théogonie*," *CEA* 23: 1 (1990), hereafter cited as Pascal, "Le mythe . . .," p. 13, calls them "les attributs techniques de sa royauté."

55. Cook, v. I, p. 318, points out that in the late epic (c. 400 A.D.) of Nonnos, *Dion*. 28.172 - 201, the Kyklopes "wield [Zeus's] weapons on their own behalf."

56. R. Mondi, "The Homeric Cyclopes: Folktale, Tradition, and Theme," *TAPA* 113 (1983), p. 31. C.J. Rowe, "'Archaic Thought' in Hesiod," *JHS* 103 (1983), p. 127, concurs. On the other hand, Solmsen (1949), p. 70, suggests that the Kyklopes "must have been demoted to become the agents of him who wields these weapons by right."

57. I am indebted to Solmsen (1949), p. 74, for this idea.

58. J.-P. Vernant, "*Mètis* et les mythes de souveraineté," *RHR* 180:1 (1971), p. 58.

CHAPTER 4

"THE FLAME OF ZEUS-FIRE EVER LIVING"

Although, as we have seen in the last chapter, the alliance formed between Zeus and the Kyklopes culminates in the idea of Zeus as "lord" (506, ἀνάσσει) of gods and men, his right to rule remains, at this mid-point in the epic, as yet untested.[1] Lines 507 - 885 form the central drama of the *Theogony*. These lines focus on three conflicts, and their resolution, which prove not only Zeus's right to rule but also his mastery of the fire within the sceptre, the symbol of his power. In lines 507 - 512, Hesiod appears to digress from his purpose by describing the birth of the four sons (Atlas, Menoitios, Prometheus, and Epimetheus) of the Titan, Iapetos, and his Okeanid wife, Klymene. The movement away from Zeus's story is, however, only momentary. With the mention of Iapetos's son, Prometheus, Hesiod introduces both the arch-rival of Zeus and the first of three challenges to depose Zeus from his position as lord of gods and men.

The present chapter of the thesis is the most important one. While Chapters 2 and 3 gradually delineate the nature of Zeus (his origins, his alliance with the Kyklopes, and, in the case of the Proem, his glorious godhood), Chapter 4 contains a detailed analysis of the crucial moments in Zeus's struggle to achieve supremacy. The account of the challenges is divided as follows: lines 507 - 616 focus on Prometheus's testing of Zeus's intellectual powers; lines 617 - 819 describe the striking of a covenant with the Hekatoncheires and Zeus's combat with the Titans; and, lines 820 - 880 recount Zeus's struggle with the "fearful dragon," (825,

δεινοῖο δράκοντος), Typhoeos. The section ends, as did the Proem, with a coda, lines 881 - 885, in which Zeus is envisaged as no longer lord in word alone but also lord in deed, with the power to confirm other gods in their spheres of authority.

Zeus's rise to supremacy rests securely on the fire given to him by the Kyklopes. In this section "fire is a complex symbol,"[2] constantly changing in form and meaning. Pascal refers to this fire as "divin," and to the gifts of the Kyklopes as the "signes matériels de [Zeus's] nouvelle majesté."[3] In these fiery weapons lies Zeus's potential pre-eminence over mankind, over the gods, and over nature. In the Prometheus episode,[4] fire is initially associated with the two different kinds of intellect that come into conflict during the meeting of gods and men at Mekone. Throughout this episode, there is a persistent emphasis upon Zeus as a "god of reason."[5] For the first time since the Proem, the reader finds Zeus distinguished by the epithet "all wise" (520, μητίετα) (*cf.* 56). Hesiod seems to anticipate the view of Zeus's intellect which was held by the Stoics of the Hellenistic period. For these philosophers, the mind of Zeus was "the thinking fire, which penetrates, shapes, and holds everything in limits."[6] It is this fire, the divine intellect of Zeus, that the "wily Prometheus" (546, Προμηθεὺς ἀγκυλομήτης),[7] a god whose mind is "full of subtle and various deceits" (511, ποικίλον αἰολόμητιν), seeks to equal or even to surpass.

Such prominent scholars as West and Vernant agree that when the conflict between Zeus and Prometheus takes place, gods and men should be regarded as still living together.[8] Therefore, the meeting at Mekone must occur at the end of the "golden . . . age of mortal men" (*W & D* 109,

χρύσεον μὲν . . . γένος μερόπων ἀνθρώπων) for at that time men "lived as if they were gods" (*W & D* 112, ὥστε θεοὶ δ' ἔζωον).[9] At this "feast,"[10] however, Hesiod suggests to the reader that the two sides were experiencing some difficulties in their relationship. The verb ἐκρίνοντο (535) has various definitions, but its primary one, in the context, is "to settle a dispute."[11] The Titan, Prometheus, uses this occasion to challenge Zeus, his Olympian cousin, to, what Vernant calls, a "duel"[12] -- a battle of wits. Prometheus relies upon his *tekhne*, a word last seen referring to Gaia's just crafting of a plan to punish her consort, Ouranos (*cf.* 160). Unlike Gaia, Prometheus's *tekhne*, his strategem, is used to effect an evil injustice upon a fellow god.

The Titan god conceals the inferior parts of an ox, the bones, in folds of "white fat"[13] (541, ἀργέτι δημῷ). The "thinking fire" of Zeus's mind is able to penetrate the false feast and he sees the disguised bones. Addressing Prometheus with the familiar term "friend" (544, ὦ πέπον), the Olympian deity compliments his cousin for "dividing the portions [of the meal] so unfairly" (ὡς ἑτεροζήλως διεδάσσαο μοίρας). Perhaps Zeus's irony in this line pertains to the fact that Prometheus is teaching the assembled mortals that a divine *tekhne* is more an act of "deceit" (540, δολίῃ), than an art to remedy a problem or to craft a just resolution. At this point in the duel, Zeus proves "his ability to fuse thought and action;"[14] he turns the strategem to his own advantage. "Zeus knew and fully perceived the *tekhne*" (551, γνῶ ῥ' οὐδ' ἠγνοίησε δόλον). With full knowledge, the Olympian Zeus deliberately chooses the portion containing the bones and, thereby, sets the stage for Prometheus's ultimate downfall.

Although, some critics, like Hamilton, reproach Zeus for being "duped,"[15] in fact, the Olympian is simply allowing Prometheus's hubris, his arrogant shortsightedness,[16] to manifest itself. Prometheus, himself, "smiling, mindful of his cunning *tekhne*" (547, ἐπιμειδήσας, δολίης δ' οὐ λήθετο τέχνης), pays an ironic compliment to Zeus. In front of the mortals he hails Zeus as "the most glorious and the greatest of the everbeing gods" (548, κύδιστε μέγιστε θεῶν αἰειγενετάων). He says this at the very moment that he imagines that he is sealing Zeus's fate in front of the eyes of mankind. It seems that Prometheus's motivation in distorting the feast is to gain kingship over the gods and to become the leading force in resolving the dispute at Mekone. As Sale has argued, Zeus's "first-rate intelligence responds with some new and interesting scheme."[17] Zeus's scheme, his *tekhne*, is to introduce a notion of the difference he sees, not only between hlmself and Prometheus, but, what is more important, between gods and men. That is, the terms of the duel are being redefined as Zeus comprehends the significance of the conflict to his future place in the Kosmos.

The "anger" (554, χώσατο) that rises up in Zeus is comparable to that felt by his grandmother, Gaia. Like her, Zeus finds himself placed in an extreme situation and forced to retaliate in order to preserve his own dignity as a god and his definition of what order is to represent. Hesiod depicts Zeus as sensing "in his mind a premonition of evils/ for mortal men, ones which [the god himself] will be destined to accomplish" (551 - 552, κακὰ δ' ὄσσετο θυμῷ/ θνητοῖς ἀνθρώποισι, τὰ καὶ τελέεσθαι ἔμελλε). The first evil resulting from Prometheus's interference with the ritual of the feast is the dramatic change in the form of communication

which had previously existed between gods and men. For mankind there will be no return to the golden age. When Hesiod concludes this portion of the duel with the words "from that time the races of men on earth/ have burned white bones on fragrant[18] altars" (556 - 557, ἐκ τοῦ δ' ἀθανάτοισιν ἐπὶ χθονὶ φῦλ' ἀνθρώπων/ καίουσ' ὀστέα λευκὰ θυηέντων ἐπὶ βωμῶν), he is acknowledging more than what West describes as the establishment of "the sacrificial relations which now obtain between the two orders."[19] The ritual of sacrifice, the basis of *human tekhne*, is an ambiguous thing. On the one hand, as Vernant observes, the sacrificial fire is the same fire men use to cook their food and thus, fire comes to distinguish them as civilized.[20] On the other hand, because of the events surrounding its sacred institution, sacrifice also symbolizes the "fall" of mankind from its state of blessedness, from a life that Hesiod eulogizes in the *Works and Days* as one lived "apart from both hard work and misery" (113, νόσφιν ἄτερ τε πόνου καὶ ὀιζύος).

Zeus himself inflicts an evil misery upon mankind by "refusing to give the force of untiring fire to its ash trees"[21] (563, οὐκ ἐδίδου μελίῃσι πυρὸς μένος ἀκαμάτοιο). There may be several reasons for Zeus's withholding of fire. Hesiod explicitly tells the reader that the Olympian "is ever mindful and ever angry" (562, χόλου μεμνημένος αἰεί) at his cousin's distortion of the feast. It is possible that Zeus's anger arises from the dishonour of being denied the superior parts of the ox. In their hubris, men may have wished to appropriate that portion for themselves.[22] Whatever the reason for Zeus's anger, the Olympian clearly is determined to demonstrate, and to ensure, that the race of men realizes its subordination to the gods. By not granting them fire, Zeus eliminates

their access to the gods, that is, their ability to communicate and to propitiate through sacrifice. Thus, on the very occasion of its institution, sacrifice, as Vernant observes, "sépare aussi les hommes des dieux et il les oppose dans l'acte même qui cherche à les unir."[23]

It is Prometheus who comes to the rescue of mankind and resolves the present dilemma. "He steals the conspicuous light of untiring fire/ in a hollow reed" (566 - 567, *κλέψας ἀκαμάτοιο πυρὸς τηλέσκοπον αὐγὴν/ ἐν κοίλῳ νάρθηκι*) and gives it to the mortals. The consequences, for Zeus, of Prometheus's second act of cunning *tekhne* are considerable. The Titan holds in his hollow reed a portion of Zeus's fundamental power, described by Vernant as, "la flamme de son feu celeste, [sa] foudre."[24] The sight of fire burning on the earth "stung the spirit deep within/ Zeus the high-thunderer, and he raged in his heart" (567 - 568, *δάκεν δ' ἄρα νειόθι θυμὸν/ Ζῆν' ὑψιβρεμέτην, ἐχόλωσε δέ μιν φίλον ἦτορ*). Prometheus has stolen what Sale calls "Zeus's prerogative"[25] -- his sceptre. What angers Zeus about the theft, however, is that, as Conacher suggests, men now have in their possession "both a symbolic and a practical sense"[26] of their potential *tekhne*. In order to use fire, mankind must acquire knowledge. As Vernant explains, "il constitue une technique de transport, de conservation et d'allumage du feu, une part de ces savoir-faire inséparables de la vie humaine."[27] Zeus, in his wisdom, decides to permit men to retain fire. Nevertheless, the Olympian does respond to the Titan's act of deceit by fashioning the second of the two "evils" he had foreseen: Pandora.[28]

Pucci observes that the creation of the first woman "occurs as the last act of a series of incidents that lead mankind from its 'natural'

godlike life to 'culture' and the mortal life of toil."[29] In that life men will use their *tekhne* of fire to craft a variety of inanimate objects, ranging from practical utensils/tools to works of art. Zeus, however, demonstrates that while man can create artifacts, he is still not equal to the gods. For, Zeus also can craft artifacts, but ones that are animate. As soon as the "thinking fire" of the Olympian's mind has conceived the idea of Pandora, he commands Hephaistos, "the lame one" (571, Ἀμφιγυήεις), the god of fire,[30] to become the craftsman of this first woman, "an evil thing for mankind" (570, κακὸν ἀνθρώποισι).

Pandora, according to duBois, may be viewed as an "artisanal production."[31] In her view, Hephaistos is "a divine potter"[32] who "moulds earth together" (571, γαίης γὰρ σύμπλασσε) with water[33] and places Pandora like an earthern-ware vessel in the furnace to be fired.[34] The woman who emerges from Zeus's Hephaistean fire is both Zeus's "masterpiece,"[35] and his final dispensation in the separation of gods and men. Arrighetti notes that "Pandora non è . . . un male in sé."[36] Rather, she is "evil" because she symbolizes the transition to a new way of life. Where before there had been no women, now with the entry of Pandora into the world, man and woman become "partners in grievous work" (601 - 602, ξυνήονας ἔργων/ ἀργαλέων). Together, they will learn how to plough and cultivate and harvest the arable land of Mother Earth (Gaia). Each of these activities will, through time, become accompanied by ritual sacrifices, thus continuing the new means of communication, recently established at Mekone, between gods and men. The advent of woman also brings about the institution of the family and the communities of men and women who will perpetuate the holy sacrifices to their deities.

Although the emphasis is on the negative more than the positive associations of Zeus's "wondrous" (581, θαῦμα ἰδέσθαι) creation, it is clear that this "evil" is not as devastating as it might appear on the surface. For in the narrative it is neither Pandora nor the race of men who suffer the most grievous consequences of Zeus's anger. Rather, it is his rival, the Titan, Prometheus.

Hesiod has framed his account of the duel at Mekone with an elaborate Prologue (521 - 533) and a brief Epilogue (613 - 616). Such a structural design adds drama to the conflict between Zeus and Prometheus. Neither of the two battles which follow are as significant for Zeus's intellectual powers as is his battle of wits with his cousin. So dangerous a rival is Prometheus that Hesiod begins his account of this episode with a Prologue graphically foreshadowing the god's eventual punishment. Prometheus is pictured bound against a rock and fettered "with unbreakable . . .// grievous chains" (521 - 522, ἀλυκτοπέδῃσι . . ./ δεσμοῖς ἀργαλέοισι). Transfixed by a "column driven through his midriff" (522, μέσον διὰ κίον' ἐλάσσας), the Titan is the epitome of physical suffering. By anticipating the defeat of Prometheus, Hesiod not only diminishes the potential fascination to the reader of the Titan's cunning ways but he also prepares for the *sententia* contained in the Epilogue: "it is not possible to deceive nor to transgress the mind of Zeus" (613, οὐκ ἔστι Διὸς κλέψαι νόον οὐδὲ παρελθεῖν).[37]

Prometheus's most arrogant crime has been his theft of a spark of Zeus's celestial flame. The Titan has attempted to deprive Zeus of a physical part of his divine nature and powers. In his act of vengeance, therefore, Zeus repays Prometheus in kind. Zeus "let loose the long-

winged eagle; and it/ ate [the Titan's] immortal liver" (523 - 524, αἰετὸν ὦρσε τανύπτερον· αὐτὰρ ὅ γ' ἧπαρ/ ἤσθιεν ἀθάνατον).[38] The very god who distorted the feast of gods and men, becomes himself a "feast" for Zeus's eagle. The eagle is a fitting weapon through which Zeus inflicts punishment on Prometheus. According to Vernant:[39]

> Ce que Zeus jette contre lui, pour le punir, c'est sous la forme de l'aigle royal, l'aigle fauve, équivalant à la foudre, son propre porte-flamme de souverain, le trait ailé et volant qui, à ses ordres, trace un chemin de feu entre le ciel et la terre.

As Zeus emerges from the duel at Mekone he has reasserted in a variety of ways the ability of the "thinking fire" of his intellect to search out and to suppress, even to punish, individual gods who would seek to usurp his rightful place.[40] Nevertheless, the opposition which has been established between himself as an Olympian god and the Titans is firmly in place and the two dynasties quickly find themselves in mortal conflict.

In the second episode of conflict, Hesiod moves from a mini-drama to heroic narrative. He establishes a rhetorical structure which, as Mondi has noted, presents a "vision of Zeus as the invincible Divine Hero."[41] When viewed from this perspective then, the battle between the Olympian and the Titan dynasties, the so-called Titanomachy,[42] is more accurately the *aristeia*[43] of Zeus. The god's strategy for victory consists of four major steps. In lines 617 - 626 Zeus is seen enlisting the services of a special trio of warriors -- the Hekatoncheires (Hundred-Handers). Lines 627 - 663 record the ceremonial feast and the speeches which formalize the alliance between Zeus, as *anax*, and his followers. Lines 664 - 720 relate the defeat of the Titans by the physical force of rocks, boulders, and, ultimately, Zeus's fiery thunderbolt. Finally,

lines 729 - 735 and 811 - 819 commemorate the "gift" bestowed upon the Hekatoncheires in honour of their distinguished military exploits. Perhaps the greatest irony of Zeus's strategy for victory is that it is one based on the cooperation of gods who, until now, had literally vanished from sight -- gods who were nonentities until Zeus, in his wisdom, permits them to realize their potential.

When the Hekatoncheires are reintroduced into the narrative in lines 617 - 618, some of the imagery is reminiscent of that found in the Prologue of the Prometheia. Both the Titan god and Ouranos's sons are first represented as victims, deities "bound in powerful chains" 618, δῆσε κρατερῷ ἐνὶ δεσμῷ) (*cf.* 521 - 522) against their will. In addition, both victims are forced to endure "great physical and psychological anguish" (623, ἀχνύμενοι κραδίῃ μέγα πένθος) (*cf.* 528). Finally, both Prometheus and the Hekatoncheires are seen as deprived of their right of communication with their fellow gods. Nevertheless, at the very moment that Hesiod emphasizes the similarities between these gods, he is, in fact, inviting a re-examination of these figures from Zeus's perspective. Prometheus is a criminal, deserving of the vengeance which Zeus has inflicted upon him. In contrast, the only "crime" the Hekatoncheires have committed is the fear that their "appearance/ and great size" (619 - 620, εἶδος/ καὶ μέγεθος)[44] has aroused in their father.

Lines 617 - 626 provide further insight into the developing maturity of Zeus, in particular as one who is loyal to family members. Ouranos rejects and imprisons his "monstrous" offspring, while, as Brown points out, "Zeus releases them, controls them, and finds a function for them."[45] In this opening scene, preparatory to battle, Zeus is encountered making

a careful selection of chosen comrades -- comrades in arms who are drawn from the older generation of his own family. The essential difference in outlook and in political acumen between the Olympians and the Titans is nowhere more explicit than in the act whereby the Hekatoncheires are reclaimed from non-existence and "led back into the light" (626, ἀνήγαγον ἐς φάος αὖτις). At the moment of the Hekatoncheires' rehabilitation it is important that Zeus acts as leader and that he is joined voluntarily by his Olympian brothers and sisters. It is even more important, however, that the Olympian family is acting in harmony with their ancient mother, Gaia. Zeus's inherent wisdom recognizes the stabilizing effect of strong family ties, of heeding the advice of elders, and of refusing to judge solely on the basis of appearance. In joining forces with the Hekatoncheires, Zeus and the Olympians take the first tentative steps to the establishment of their Kosmos -- a Kosmos based on new familial, societal, and political values.

The actual moment when the Hekatoncheires ally themselves with the Olympians and Zeus is an occasion of some ceremony in Hesiod's narrative. The poet devotes 36 lines (627 - 663) to an elaboration of the "historical" events surrounding the meeting itself and the speeches delivered by Zeus, on behalf of the Olympians, and Kottos,[46] the leader of the Hekatoncheires. Of great importance in this section is the figure of Gaia and Hesiod's re-emphasis upon her role as a prophetess.[47] For the Hekatoncheires owe their rescue from oblivion, not only to Zeus but also to their own ancient mother. It is she who assures the Olympians that, only with the aid of the Hekatoncheires, will they "win both victory and glorious pride" (628, νίκην τε καὶ ἀγλαὸν εὖχος ἀρέσθαι) in their battle

with the enemy Titans. Thus Zeus, in paying heed to Gaia's prophetic counsel, sets the stage for a positive turn in his conflict with the Titans.

Zeus's next step is the striking of a covenant with the Hekatoncheires, a formal and public acknowledgement of his faith in the truth of Gaia's words. But before allowing the reader to hear the terms of this martial agreement, Hesiod focusses his attention on a discussion of the events leading up to the forming of the covenant. For ten years, he says, war had raged, "nor was there any release nor end from the difficult strife" (637, οὐδέ τις ἦν ἔριδος χαλεπῆς λύσις οὐδὲ τελευτή).[48] Hesiod adds to the heroic motif of a ten year battle by describing characteristics of the two opposing sides. The Titans are called "illustrious" (632, ἀγαυοί)[49] and their base of operations is the "lofty Mount Othrys" (ὑψηλῆς Ὄθρυος). In contrast to these epithets is the descriptive phrase used of the Olympian gods. They are called "the givers of good things" 633, δωτῆρες ἐάων), an epithet which anticipates the beneficence of Zeus's reign. Once Hesiod has established images of the two combatting sides and their geographical territory, he dwells upon the "heartaching" 635, θυμαλγέ') strife between the older and younger family members. This is the crucial moment then, for the stalemate in the war to be ended, not by a show of physical force but, rather, by the persuasive words of Zeus.

The ceremony which formalizes the covenant is preceded by the traditional heroic act of giving a gift. In order to acknowledge the reincorporation of the Hekatoncheires into their divine family, Zeus gives them the gift of food - nectar and ambrosia.[50] The consequences of the

feast are immediate. "A courageous spirit was lifted up in their breast" (641, ἐν στήθεσσιν ἀέξετο θυμὸς ἀγήνωρ). West calls the feast "a symbolic ratification of the Hundred-Handers' return to the world of the upper gods and the termination of their punishment."[51]

Following the ceremony of the feast Zeus addresses the Hekatoncheires as the "shining children of Gaia and Ouranos" (644, Γαίης τε καὶ Οὐρανοῦ ἀγλαὰ τέκνα). Beginning with such a compliment, Zeus, the astute politician, admits his great need for the services of the three gods[52] and he exhorts them to join the encounter against their own brothers and sisters. His argument does not attempt to justify the setting of blood against blood, rather it focusses on the superiority of the Hekatoncheires in battle. In reminding the three gods of the "kind friendship" (651, φιλότητος ἐνηέος) shown by himself and the Olympians, Zeus is not simply treating them as what Brown describes as "a mercenary army."[53] Displaying his intellectual resourcefulness, Zeus insists that it was "through our plans" (653, ἡμετέρας διὰ βουλὰς), that is, the rational deliberation of the Olympians as a group, that the Hekatoncheires were rescued from their gloomy prison: these gods are not mercenaries, but rather, as Briquel notes, "auxiliaires indispensables."[54]

For their part, the Hekatoncheires confirm the truth of Zeus's words. They neither view themselves as mercenaries for hire, nor Zeus merely as a politician beguiling them with flattering words. In his speech (655 - 663) Kottos uses words suggestive of his admiration of Zeus's intellect, in particular, his "wisdom" 658, ἐπιφροσύνησιν), the means by which, the Hekatoncheires "came back again from under the cruel chains" (659 - 660, ἄφορρον ἑξαῦτις ἀμειλίκτων ὑπὸ δεσμῶν/ ἠλύθομεν).

Moreover, in line 657 when he appeals to Zeus as the "protector of the immortals against chilling War . . ." (ἀλκτὴρ δ' ἀθανάτοισιν ἀρῆς . . . κρυεροῖο), it is clear that Kottos views Zeus's invincibility as an aspect of his superior mind.[55] Therefore, when Kottos promises that the Hekatoncheires "will defend [Zeus's] power" (662, ῥυσόμεθα κράτος), he hints at a latent desire on the part of the "monstrous" sons of Ouranos to become closer to Zeus, to be seen as almost equal to him in the arts of war. Kottos closes his speech by hailing Zeus with the heroic title, Lord (*anax*), admitting that, prior to Zeus's arrival, the Hekatoncheires "had suffered things not hoped for" (660, ἀνάελπτα παθόντες). For the Hekatoncheires, therefore, Zeus's invitation to be his special allies is, in effect, their chance to bring just retribution upon a father and a family.

Kottos's speech succeeds, as Schwenn has remarked, in rousing the spirit of "chilling Ares" in the Olympian gods.[56] "The spirit [of the gods] longed for war/ more than before" (665, πολέμου δ' ἐλελαίετο θυμὸς/ μᾶλλον ἔτ' ἢ τὸ πάροιθε) and they prepared for battle. In the Titanomachy Zeus displays his *aristeia* both through a demonstration of mighty physical exploits and, where required, through acts of self-restraint.[57] Not surprisingly, therefore, when the battle between the gods resumes, it is the Hekatoncheires who take the lead, who are the first manifestation of Zeus's might. Hesiod introduces the battle with his own version of an arming scene. Instead of describing crested helmets or embossed shields, Hesiod reminds the reader of exactly how the Hekatoncheires appear as warriors. Their "limbs are mighty" (673, στιβαροῖσι μέλεσσιν) and their

fifty heads, a frightening apparition, even on a battlefield. Mondi[58] says,

> With their profusion of limbs they appear to have been mythologically tailored precisely for the hurling of many projectiles in rapid succession -- i.e., designed specifically for the part they play in the Titanomachy.

The first stage of the battle involves the hurling of "massive rocks" (675, πέτρας ἠλιβάτους) by both the Hekatoncheires and the Titans. The very ground of Mount Olympos and Mount Othrys becomes the "weapons" of a battle that "shakes" (680, σειόμενος) land, sea, and wide heaven above and "shadowy" (682, ἠερόεντα)[59] Tartaros below. Endowed with their hundred arms, the Hekatoncheires have determined the weapons of choice for this moment of the combat. In this early stage of the battle, the three gods perform as Zeus's select contingent and as his marshals of the Olympians, in an attempt to bring him victory over the Titans.

In spite, however, of the tremendous "work" (677, ἔργον) of the Hekatoncheires' hands, the battle remains at an impasse.[60] Only the might of Zeus, it appears, is sufficient to break the deadlock between the two sides. In fact, the events of both the narrative scene and the preliminary stage of renewed battle have served to create a dramatic background against which Zeus's own "intervention"[61] in the war stands out. His exploits of "hand" are the ones which turn the tide of battle. It is perhaps at this point that the meaning of the Kyklopes and the importance of their earlier alliance with Zeus (*cf.* 503 - 505) are most evident. While the Hekatoncheires and the Titans display their force through many hands, Zeus achieves his victory through a single mighty hand. This is a sceptre-bearing hand, from which flows the "sacred flame" (692, ἱερὴν

φλόγα).[62] His thunderbolt is accompanied by the crash of thunder and the blaze of lightning. As Walcot notes, "how much more effective it is to see Zeus using, rather than merely accepting, his new armoury."[63]

The effect of Zeus's weapons is devasting. In the previous scene (*cf.* 678 - 683) which portrayed the effect of the flying rocks, it was clear that Thessaly[64] was shaken to its foundations. In the present scene, "life-bearing Gaia burns as she resounds with the crash of thunder/ and her great woods crackle unceasingly" (693 - 694, γαῖα φερέσβιος ἐσμαράγιζε/ καιομένη, λάκε δ' ἀμφὶ περὶ μεγάλ' ἄσπετος ὕλη). As Gaia burns so the "streams of Oceanos . . . seethe" (695, ἔζεε . . . Ὠκεανοῖο ῥέεθρα) and Chaos is overwhelmed by the "wondrous burning heat" (700, καῦμα δὲ θεσπέσιον). Two of the original founders of Hesiod's Kosmos are thus in danger of total annihilation. Hesiod emphasizes the terrible effect of Zeus clashing in battle with the Titans by describing its consequences in terms of a final cataclysm for nature itself. In an extended simile (703 - 706) the tumult from the clash of the divine ranks in "fearful strife" (710, σμερδαλέης ἔριδος) is compared to an earthquake.[65] The quake is directly associated with Zeus's weapons: "the thunder and the lightning and the blazing thunderbolt,/ the arrows of great Zeus" (707 - 708, βροντήν τε στεροπήν τε καὶ αἰθαλόεντα κεραυνόν,/ κῆλα Διὸς μεγάλοιο) which the god carries into battle against the Titans.

This lengthy depiction of the near-conflagration of the earth, the sky, and the seas, reveals a Zeus who is not yet in complete control of his fiery weapons. His ultimate mastery over his sceptre-bearing hand does not come until his conflict with Typhoeos (*cf.* 820 - 880). For the moment, however, as Vernant has shown, Zeus's *aristeia* derives from his

blinding of the Titan's eyes by means of the "flashing light of the thunder and the lightning" 699, *αὐγὴ μαρμαίρουσα κεραυνοῦ τε ατεροπῆς τε*).[66]

> Entre les mains de Zeus, la flamme aveuglante de l'éclair dont il se sert comme d'une imparable arme de jet provoque sur les dieux le même effet de stupeur 'paralysante' que chez les hommes l'étincellement des armes de métal, cette lueur de l'airain qui monte jusqu'au ciel et qui glace d'epouvante le coeur de l'adversaire.

Zeus's success in weakening his enemy is what makes the Titans so vulnerable to the final assault by the Hekatoncheires.[67] The final stages of the Titanomachy are simply, as Walcot notes, "'mopping-up' operations;"[68] the Titans are reduced to the status of conquered gods, "and these under the earth with wide paths/ were sent and bound in grievous chains" (717 - 718, *καὶ τοὺς μὲν ὑπὸ χθονὸς εὐρυοδείης/ πέμψαν καὶ δεσμοῖσιν ἐν ἀργαλέοισιν ἔδησαν*). The Hekatoncheires emerge from the Titanomachy both as proven allies of a victorious Zeus and as recipients of the second major gift[69] of Zeus's Olympian dispensation.

In the conclusion to the Titanomachy, Hesiod reveals, through his choice of epithets, just how much the fortune of the Hekatoncheires has turned since their punishment by their father, Ouranos. Earlier, in lines 147 ff., the three gods were envisioned as a disgrace to their father. Hesiod may be citing the terms of Ouranos's own reproach when he refers to them as "arrogant children" (149, *ὑπερήφανα τέκνα*), "not to be named" (148, *οὐκ ὀνομαστοί*), and the "most fearful of children" (155, *δεινότατοι παίδων*). Now in lines 734 - 735, the Hekatoncheires are victorious. Briareos is exalted as "great-hearted" 734, *μεγάθυμος*),[70] an epithet that might include Gyges and Kottos as well, and all three gods gain stature

in their new role as "Zeus's trustworthy guards" (735, φύλακές πιστοὶ Διὸς). In lines 815 - 819 the Hekatoncheires disappear from the narrative, but not before they are renamed "Zeus's renowned allies" (815, Διὸς κλειτοὶ ἐπίκουροι).[71] On this particular occasion, Briareos is distinguished with a special honour, because Poseidon, Zeus's brother, makes the Hekatoncheir his "son-in-law" (818, γαμβρὸν).

In two of the passages cited above (*cf.* 735 and 815), the glory of the Hekatoncheires is increased still further. First, the three gods are mentioned almost simultaneously with acknowledgement to the power which Zeus holds in the thunderstorm. This association occurs because the three gods have been instrumental in rallying "Zeus of the *aigis*" (735, Διὸς αἰγιόχοιο),[72] "Zeus of the rushing storm" (815, ἐρισμαράγοιο Διὸς) to a display of his superior physical force. Second, the Hekatoncheires also receive a valuable gift of "homes, dwelling-places near the foundations of Okeanos" (816, δώματα ναιετάουσιν ἐπ' Ὠκεανοῖο θεμέθλοις). What is more important than their residence near this sacred body of water is the charge the Hekatoncheires have been given over the dwelling-place of Tartaros. In this shadowy, dark, and mysterious region, one which, scholars agree, defies all geographical mapping,[73] the Hekatoncheires stand as the perpetual guardians of Zeus's adversaries, the Titans. The latter deities have been cut off once and for all from their dwellings above the earth.

Although West regards the Hekatoncheires' role as demeaning, as a reaffirmation of their previous condition of disgrace,[74] that opinion does not present a balanced account of the prominence of the Hekatoncheires in

the Titanomachy. Tartaros is, after all, the dwelling place of Styx, Zeus's guardian of the sacredness of the divine oath.[75] It is only fitting, therefore, that the great "bronze wall" (726, χάλκεον ἕρκος),[76] "the gleaming marble gates" (811, μαρμάρεαί τε πύλαι),[77] and "the bronze threshold" (χάλκεος οὐδός) of Tartaros enclose within its boundaries Styx and the Hekatoncheires, deities who know well Zeus's loyalty to those who uphold his cause.

The final challenge to Zeus's sovereignty occurs in lines 820 - 880 in the figure of Typhoeos, whom Lattimore calls the "dreaded dragon"[78] (825, δεινοῖο δράκοντος). Of all the monsters or prodigies in Hesiod's narrative, this creature is, perhaps, the most dangerous.[79] Zeus's adversary has "a hundred snake heads growing out of his shoulders" (824 - 825, ἐκ δέ οἱ ὤμων/ ἦν ἑκατὸν κεφαλαὶ δράκοντος), a physical parallel to the Hekatoncheires, but with none of their potential for benefaction. Typhoeos, the youngest son of Gaia,[80] from her union with Tartaros, is an aberration of nature.

In the lines directly preceding the dragon's combat with Zeus (826 - 841), Typhoeos is depicted as the physical portent of disorder and destruction. "Dark licking tongues" (826, γλώσσῃσι δνοφερῇσι λελιχμότες) protrude from his mouths; "fire glints from beneath his eyebrows" (827, ὑπ' ὀφρύσι πῦρ ἀμάρυσσεν); "fire burns in his glare" (828, πῦρ καίετο δερκομένοιο); "terrifying sounds issue from all his heads" (829, φωναὶ δ' ἐν πάσῃσιν ἔσαν δεινῆς κεφαλῇσι). Typhoeos is a Protean figure, a monster whose "hiss" (835, ῥοίζεσχ') transforms him at will. He confounds the world of nature, right to its "tall mountains" (οὔρεα μακρά), "uttering sounds" (831, φθέγγονθ') that represent him now as a "loud-bellowing bull"

(832, ταύρου ἐριβρύχεω), now as a "pitiless lion" (833, λέοντος ἀναιδέα), and now as "whelps" (834, σκυλάκεσσιν). This Typhoeos threatens all that represents order and permanence in the natural world around him as well as in the divine realm of Zeus's Olympos.

Zeus "quickly perceives" (838, ὀξὺ νόησε) the specific threat posed by Typhoeos: he desires to be "lord of mortals and immortals" (837, θνητοῖσι καὶ ἀθανάτοισιν ἄναξεν). When Zeus responds to the ever-changing, inarticulate, and chilling sounds emitted by Typhoeos, he does so with an awesome, distinctive, and unchanging weapon: "a mighty, hard thunderclap" (839, σκληρὸν δ' ἐβρόντησε καὶ ὄβριμον). By means of a single clap of thunder, Zeus denounces the variable voices of Typhoeos as alien and ineffective. This act of dismissal is the prelude not only to the mortal combat which ensues between the two gods but also to their choice of weapon.

During the battle "all the ground and the sky and the sea seethed" (847, ἔζεε δὲ χθὼν πᾶσα καὶ οὐρανὸς ἠδὲ θάλασσα) from the scorching "both from [Zeus's] lightning and from the fire of the monster" (845, στεροπῆς τε πυρός τ' ἀπὸ τοῖο πελώρου). Even Hades and the "Titans who live beneath Tartaros" (851, Τιτῆνές θ' ὑποταρτάριοι) have reason to fear for their survival in this cataclysm. Nevertheless, as Sussman points out, there is a difference between the fire of Typhoeos and the Kyklopean fire of Zeus. Zeus's fire, his lightning and his thunderbolts, "has shape and form. In contrast, the fire of the monster is simply flame . . ., formless and undefined.[81] It is Zeus's fire which finally determines the course of the battle. In the combat between the two deities, Zeus's Kyklopean fire hits its target:

Ζεὺς δ' ἐπεὶ οὖν κόρθυνεν ἑὸν μένος, εἵλετο δ' ὅπλα,
βροντήν τε στεροπήν τε καὶ αἰθαλόεντα κεραυνόν,
πλῆξεν ἀπ' Οὐλύμποιο ἐπάλμενος· ἀμφὶ δὲ πάσας
ἔπρησε θεσπεσίας κεφαλὰς δεινοῖο πελώρου.

(When Zeus's power reached its crest, he seized his weapons,
the thunder and the lightning and the blazing thunderbolt,
and he struck leaping from Olympos; and he blew flame
all about the wondrous heads of the dread monster.")

(853 - 856)

Typhoeos "lashed with [Zeus's] lightning strokes, / fell maimed" (857 - 858, πληγῇσιν ἰμάσσας, / ἤριπε γυιωθείς).[82]

At this moment the difference between the Zeus of the Titanomachy and the Zeus of the Typhonomachy is manifest. The latter Zeus has no need of any external aid in the form of prophecies or military alliances.[83] He is fully capable of controlling, guiding, and using his Kyklopean fire, his sceptre of power. In the words of Pascal, Zeus "devenu le maître du Feu."[84] The final confirmation of his mastery is found in the coda (881 - 885) appended to the Typhonomachy. Gaia, Zeus's prophetic guide, urges the Olympians to recognize his supremacy. Hesiod concludes this central section of his epic with a vision of a Zeus triumphant as "king and lord" (883, βασιλεύεμεν ἠδὲ ἀνάσσειν), distributing to all of his loyal allies, their rightful gifts of honour.[85]

This chapter has traced the steps Zeus has taken to gain supremacy as "king of the gods."[86] In each of the three challenges Zeus has been confronted by adversaries who have tested his ability to wield either the physical flame of his lightning or the divine flame of his penetrating intellect. The key to Zeus's success throughout all of the conflicts is his gift of "deathless counsels" (545, ἄφθιτα μήδεα). As we have seen in Chapter 4, Zeus's intellect has set him apart from the cunning Prometheus,

the arrogant Titans, and the primaeval monster, Typhoeos. In Chapter 5 Zeus's intellect not only guides him in shaping the society of his Kosmos, but also in the selection of his first royal consort, the goddess Metis.

FOOTNOTES

1. The title of Chapter 4 is a translation of Eur. *Bacchai* 8, Διόυ πυρὸς ἔτι ζῶσαν φλόγα.

2. T.N. Gantz, "The Fires of the *Oresteia*," *JHS* 97 (1977), p. 33.

3. Pascal "Le Mythe . . .", p. 14.

4. Also called the Prometheia. *Cf.* R. Mondi, "The Ascension of Zeus and the Composition of Hesiod's *Theogony*," *GRBS* 25 (1984), p. 327.

5. R.A. Sarno, "Hesiod: From Chaos to Cosmos to Community," *CB* 45 (1969), p. 77. He also calls Zeus the "personification of human reason."

6. W. Burkert, *Griechische Religion der archaischen und klassischen Epoche* (Stuttgart: Verlag W. Kohlhammer, 1977), p. 207, "Zeus ist die Welt als ganzes und insbesondere das denkende Feuer, das alles durchdringt, gestaltet und in Schranken hält." *Cf.* Cook, v. I, p. 27 ff. for a discussion of the Stoic view of Zeus. (*Cf.* Appendix 2.)

7. *Cf.* West, p. 158 and Ch. 3, n. 8. Used of Prometheus, the epithet suggests a mind which seeks to obscure an unseen truth.

8. *Cf.* West, p. 318; also J.-P. Vernant, "A la table des hommes," in *La cuisine du sacrifice en pays grec*, ed. M. Detienne & J.-P. Vernant (Paris: Editions Gallimard, 1979), p. 63, and Vernant (1974), p. 179. Hesiod gives us two versions of the myth of Prometheus, the first, here in the *Theogony* 535 - 616; the second in *Works and Days* 45 - 105.

9. Hesiod, *Works and Days*, ed. M. L. West (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978).

10. West, p. 305.

11. *LSJ*, *s.v.* κρίνω, "separate," "decide disputes;" also "dispute" or "contend." *Cf.* West, p. 317, who says that "the word denotes a 'settlement' in the legal sense . . . [or] a definitive division between parties."

12. Vernant (1974), p. 179.

13. *LSJ*, *s.v.* ἀργής, "bright," "shining white (of fat)." C.J. Rowe, in his Commentary to the *Theogony* in *Essential Hesiod* (Bristol: Bristol Classical Press, 1978), p. 181, says ἀργέτι means 'bright' in line 541 and 'white' in 553.

14. Hamilton, p. 29.

15. *Ibid*, p. 18.

16. The name Prometheus means "forethought" and, thus, it seems contradictory to call Prometheus "shortsighted." This definition is usually reserved for his brother, Epimetheus. Prometheus's "forethought," however, appears limited and he is shortsighted in his lack of long-range comprehension. It is Zeus, in Hesiod's account of the myth, who has forethought.

17. Sale, p. 691.

18. Incense was frequently burned on sacrificial altars.

19. West, p. 318. West discusses the origin of sacrifice on pp. 305 - 306.

20. Vernant (1979), p. 64, says "[m]ais cuire la viande . . . représente la culture opposée à la sauvagerie."

21. The early Greeks may have thought that Zeus put fire into the ash-trees when his lightning struck the tree -- although, it is the oak and not the ash which is the usual victim of lightning. For a full discussion, *cf.* West, p. 323. Arrighetti, pp. 146 - 147, suggests that Hesiod may have suspected that fire in trees had a volcanic origin and this is the reason why the thunder, the lightning, and the thunderbolt were hidden by Gaia (*cf.* 505):

> il fuoco donato dai Ciclopi a Zeus fosse prima nascosto nella terra starà probabilmente a significare che Esiodo pensava ad una origine vulcanica di quello.

22. *Cf.* West, pp. 305 - 306.

23. Vernant (1974), p. 146. In the Hekate passage (404 - 452), sacrifice was seen as the fundamental way through which mortals could propiate the gods. Performance of the proper ritual was essential to the continued health and prosperity of mankind (*cf.* Ch. 3, pp. 27 - 30)

24. Vernant (1979), p.63.

25. Sale, p. 691.

26. D.J. Conacher, "Prometheus as Founder of the Arts," *GRBS* 18 (1977), p. 200, citing Plato, *Protagoras*, 321 D, ἔντεχνον σοφίαν σὺν πυρί. *LSJ*, *s.v.* ἔντεχνος. In Plato, ἔντεχνος denotes "furnished or invented by art, artificial, artistic."

27. Vernant (1979), p. 65. Hesiod does not go into the civilizing aspect associated with Aeschylus's Prometheus in the *Prometheus Bound*. In the latter work Prometheus relates how fire "has appeared as a teacher of every art for mortal men" (110 - 111, διδάσκαλος τέχνης/ πάσης βροτοῖς πέφηνε).

28. Pandora is the name of the first woman according to Hes. *Works and Days* 81. She is not named in the *Theogony*.

29. Pucci, p. 82. *Cf.* Vernant (1974), p. 149.

30. Hephaistos is the Greek god of fire but fire is still Zeus's prerogative.

31. P. duBois, *Sowing the Body: Psychoanalysis and Ancient Representations of Women* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988), p. 45.

32. *Ibid*, p. 46.

33. The mixing of the earth with water is not mentioned in the *Theogony*. *W & D* 60 - 61, Zeus "commanded Hephaistos . . ./ to mix earth with water" (Ἥφαιστον δ' ἐκέλευσε . . . / γαῖαν ὕδει φύρειν). Apollodorus, I.VII.I, says that "Prometheus formed mankind out of water and earth" (Προμηθεὺς δὲ ἐξ ὕδατος καὶ γῆς ἀνθρώπους πλάσας).

34. duBois, p. 46.

35. Rexine, p. 42.

36. Arrighetti, p. 148 - 149, adds:

> Pandora riproduce tutte quelle qualità negative che Prometeo aveva dispiegato nel suo inganno contro Zeus: ambedue sono ingannevoli e sfrontati, ambedue rendono accettabile il male di cui sono portatori . . .

Cf. Vernant (1974), pp. 181 - 194, who discusses Pandora in both of the Hesiodic works as a *dolos* equivalent to the *dolos* which Prometheus presented to Zeus (p. 182) and as a "contrepartie du feu, en tant qu'elle est elle-même un feu" (p. 189). He cites Pallados of Alexandria: "Zeus, pour rancon du feu, nous fit don d'un autre feu, les femmes." Vernant (1979), pp. 92 - 132, discusses the myth of Pandora, and of Prometheus, in more depth.

37. R. Mondi, "Tradition and Innovation in the Hesiodic Titanomachy," *TAPA* 116 (1986), p. 26, says that Hesiod uses "the Prometheus tale as a moral exemplum for the necessity of bending to the will of Zeus."

38. Aes. *Prom.* 1021 - 1022, calls the eagle "the winged hound/ of Zeus" (Διὸς δέ τοι/ πτηνὸς κύων)

39. Vernant (1979), p. 87. Vernant also discusses the significance of the liver's role in sacrifice and as the eagle's feast. *Cf.* esp. pp. 87 - 91.

40. The *Theogony* also relates that Prometheus will one day be released from his torment (526 - 532) by Zeus's son, Herakles. One of the purposes of Zeus's *tekhne* is, therefore, his desire to bring glory to Herakles.

41. Mondi (1986), p. 32.

42. The Battle of the Titans, also called the Titanomachia. First used as a title of a work in the Epic Cycle and, according to West, p. 337, "ascribed both to Eumelus of Corinth and to Arctinos of Miletus." There is a fragment of the *Titanomachia* in the *Homeric Hymns and Homerica*, ed. with an English translation by H.G. Evelyn-White (London: William Heinemann Ltd., 1914; reprint 1920).

43. *Aristeia* is the term for heroic combat. *LSJ*, *s.v.* ἀριστεία.

44. *LSJ*, *s.v.* εἶδος, "that which is seen," "form," "shape." Lattimore gives the misleading translation of "beauty".

45. Brown, p. 24.

46. The name Kottos may be related to the word κότος which connotes "rancour" or "ill-will," *LSJ*, *s.v.* κότος. Certainly *Kottos*, as one of the imprisoned Hekatoncheires, would have reason for feeling rancour towards those (i.e. Ouranos) who imprisoned him and his brothers for no apparent reason.

47. Solmsen, p. 20, says that "Gaia is never superseded." This is nowhere more evident than in her role as prophet.

48. West, p. 141. Apparently δέκα, was a conventional epithet for great wars, e.g. The Trojan War.

49. Lattimore says "haughty," a misleading translation.

50. *Cf.* Rowe (1978), p. 92, who says that "nectar and ambrosia [are] presumably in short supply under the earth."

51. West, p. 342.

52. In *Il.* I.402 - 405, Achilleus reminds Thetis, his mother, of the occasion when she alone, of the immortals, came to Zeu's aid. She summoned the Hekatoncheir, Briareos, to help her. In Homer, Briareos's father is Aigaios, not Ouranos.

53. Brown, p. 20.

54. D. Briquel, "La *'Théogonie'* d'Hésiode," *RHR* 197: 3 (1980), p. 255, notes that both the Hekatoncheires and the Kyklopes "représentent deux categories d'auxiliaires indispensables pour le souverain."

55. E.A. Havelock, *The Literate Revolution in Greece and Its Cultural Consequences* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982), p. 238, "They [i.e. all three of the Hekatoncheires] replying affirm the superiority of the intelligence of Zeus."

56. F. Schwenn, *Die Theogonie des Hesiodos* (Carl Winters Universitatsbuchhandlung: Heidelberg, 1934), pp. 13 - 15, cited in Mondi (1986), p. 28.

57. Self-restraint is also an heroic characteristic. Odysseus's failure to heed the advice of Teiresias (*Od.* 11.90 - 150) for moderation on his return home from the Underworld shows a lack of self-restraint resulting in disastrous consequences for himself and his crew.

58. Mondi (1986), p. 31.

59. *LSJ*, *s.v.* ἠεροέις, "cloudy," "murky," conveying the idea of misty or shadowy, but not, as in Lattimore's translation, "gloomy."

60. Rowe (1978), p. 95.

61. C.J. Rowe, "'Archaic Thought' in Hesiod," *JHS* 103 (1983), p. 132.

62. *Cf.* Soph. *Ant.* 131, παλτῷ ῥιπτεῖ πυρὶ, "[Zeus] hurls with brandished fire;" Aristoph. *Orn.* 1714, πάλλων κεραυνόν, πτεροφόρου Διὸς βέλος, "brandishing the thunderbolt, the winged missile of Zeus;" Eur. *Pho.* 1181, βάλλει κεραυνῷ Ζεύς, "Zeus hurls with the thunderbolt."

63. Walcot (1966), p. 30. This is the first time we actually see Zeus using the weapons given to him by the Kyklopes. In lines 514 - 515, however, Hesiod describes the thunderbolt's first victim, Menoitios, the brother of Prometheus. "Farseeing Zeus sent arrogant Menoitios/ down to Erebos by striking him with the smoldering thunderbolt" (514 -515, ὑβριστὴν δὲ Μενοίτιον εὐρύοπα Ζεὺς/ εἰς ἔρεβος κατέπεμψε βαλὼν φολόεντι κεραυνῷ).

64. Both Mount Olympos and Mount Othrys are in Thessaly.

65. Mondi (1986), p. 33.

66. Vernant (1971), pp. 57 - 58, also notes that the words "*'osse d'amerde . . . augè'* (698), l'eclat de la foudre aveuglait les yeux (des Titans), répond mot pour mot celle d l'*Iliade*: *'osse d'amerde augè'* (13, 3409), l'éclat du bronze aveuglait les yeux (des combattants)."

67. Mondi (1986), p. 47, says that "Zeus's actions are inconsequential." In his view the original victors of the Titanomachy were the Hekatoncheires and he downgrades the role of Zeus.

68. Walcot (1966), p. 29.

69. Styx is the first of the gods, in the *Theogony*, to receive a gift from Zeus, not just in the placement of her story but also perhaps in terms of actual chronology. It is obvious that she brought her children to Zeus at a time when he needed their services the most, that is, at the time of Titanomachy. Solmsen (1949), p. 74, says that the Hekatoncheires are "once more removed from the world of light and brightness, but this time in an honorable fashion."

70. *LSJ*, *s.v.* μεγάθυμος, "great-hearted." *Cf.* καρτεροθύμος (476), Ch. 3, n. 50.

71. *LSJ*, *s.v.* ἐπίκουρος, "helper," "ally;" "as adj. assisting;" "defending or protecting" against. In Pl. *Rep.* 414b, 415a, the ἐπίκουροι are the military class, "guards."

72. The important epithet αἰγιόχοιο has not been mentioned since line 52 of the Proem (*cf.* Ch. 2, n. 19). The traditional translation, "rushing storm" (Aes. *Cho.* 593), anticipates the use of Zeus's weapons against Typhoeos.

73. *Cf.* West, pp. 358 - 359. G. Arrighetti, "Cosmologia mitica di Omero e Esiodo," *SCO* 15 (1966), pp. 19 - 22 and 35 - 49 discusses the underworld as it was viewed by Homer and Hesiod.

74. West, p. 363, says that "is is usually assumed that the Hundred-Handers are acting as prison guards." They return to the Underworld because "there is no place for them on Olympus." He adds: "Zeus must have banished them."

75. It is also the home of Persephone, the wife of Hades. *Cf. h. Demeter.* According to that account, Persephone spends one-third of the year in the Underworld. Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, V.566-567, says she spends one-half the year with her mother and one-half in the Underworld. Apollodorus, I.iii.1, says that Persephone is the daughter of Styx, not Demeter, although Zeus is still her father.

76. *LSJ*, *s.v.* ἕρκος, "fence," "enclosure;" "wall for defence."

77. *Cf.* Ch. 2, n. 20.

78. Lattimore, p. 173. H.G. Liddell & R. Scott, *Greek-English Lexicon*, 8th ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1897), *s.v.* δράκων, "dragon, described by Hom. as of huge size, coiled like a snake, of blood-red or dark colour . . ., shot with changeful hues . . ., dwelling in mountains." Homer used "the words δράκων and ὄφις indifferently for a serpent."

79. The term monster is used here in its usual sense in modern literature -- to describe a terrifying monster. Typhoeos is a dragon, a motif, common to the mythology of many ancient cultures. Many scholars feel that the Typhoeos episode did not belong to the original *Theogony*. Solmsen (1949), p. 54 and (1982), 12, doubts its authenticity. But Walcot (1966), pp. 1 - 10, arguing for authencity based on new studies of the Hittite myth 'Kingship in Heaven,' the texts of which were only discovered in the 1930s, says: "A final clash between the supreme god and a monstrous rival" is common to such myths. Thus "Hesiod's account of Typhoeos then becomes an essential part of the *Theogony*." *Cf.* West, pp. 379 - 383 for further discussion.

80. Many scholars question why Gaia should produce an adversary to Zeus. *Cf.* Mondi (1984), p. 334: "it is useless to try to make synchronic sense out of the shifting allegiance of Gaia;" West, p. 381, cites comparison with the Babylonian creation epic, the *Enûma Eliš*; Walcot (1956), p. 199, however, says that "the choice of this particular goddess as the parent of Typhoeus is obviously conditioned by the pattern already set for her in the poem as the mother of the Cyclopes and Centomani [i.e. other monsters or anomalies]."

81. Sussman, p. 69.

82. *Cf.* Hom. *Il.* 14.414 "under the stroke of Zeus the father" (ὑπὸ πληγῆς πατρὸς Διὸς). *LSJ*, s.v. πληγή.

83. *Cf.* Walcot (1956), p. 205. Hamilton, p. 27, implies, erroneously, that Zeus no longer relies on the weapons of the Kyklopes -- ignoring the fact that Kyklopean fire is a part of Zeus -- absorbed into his very being.

84. Pascal, "Le mythe . . .", p. 14.

85. In lines 71 - 74 of the Proem, Hesiod summarizes these very events.

86. Walcot (1956), p. 205.

CHAPTER 5

"FATHER OF GODS AND MEN"

The final chapter of the thesis examines Zeus's rejection of family conflict, jealous competition, and physical combat, and his preference for a Kosmos founded upon the principles of harmony.[1] In this section (886 - 964) of the *Theogony*, Zeus the warrior becomes the true father of gods and men. There has been much scholarly debate over the exact line on which the *Theogony* concludes.[2] For the purposes of the present discussion, line 964 is accepted as the most logical concluding point, both on the basis of the thematic unity of this section and on its elaboration of themes previously foreshadowed. Perhaps the strongest argument in favour of line 964 as the conclusion, is that it returns the epic full-circle back to the Muses, the daughters of Zeus, and the inspiration of Hesiod's song.

The principal themes of lines 886 - 964 are Zeus's marriages and his vision of what Solmsen calls a "new world order."[3] As we shall see, Zeus's vision is fulfilled, not only by the personal accomplishments of his offspring but also by his choice of consorts. Arrighetti observes that Zeus seems to use the marriage alliance as a means "di stabilire legami con le generazioni passate e di coinvolgere in qualche modo anche queste nel suo nuovo regno."[4] This chapter proposes that Zeus uses marriage, like his other alliances and covenants, not only to absorb into himself the power he needs but also to become like to that which attracts him. In so doing, it is argued that Zeus brings into prominence the principles that inform his Kosmos: reason, law, and the arts.

Zeus's first consort is Metis (Wisdom),[5] the daughter of Tethýs and Okeanos, who are also the parents of Styx. This union is comparable to the alliance formed earlier (*cf.* 504 - 505) between Zeus and the Kyklopes. In both instances Zeus clearly assimilates the gift of power and its giver. From the Kyklopes, as we have seen in Chapters 3 and 4, Zeus received into himself the fire of the thunder, the lightning, and the thunderbolt. During his battles with the Titans and Typhoeos, Zeus becomes fire, and thus visibly manifests his "honour"[6] to his allies, the Kyklopes. Similarly, Zeus honours Metis by "placing her [and her unborn child] inside his own belly"[7] (890, ἣν ἐσκάτθετο νηδύν). Sarno notes that Zeus "integrates wisdom into his own being,"[8] while Masaracchia concludes,[9]

> è evidente che da questo momento la μῆτις diventerà per lui non solo garanzia della durata del suo dominio (v. 892 s.), ma anche principio ispiratore del suo metodo di governo.

Throughout Zeus's story wisdom has been his innate characteristic. With the formality of Zeus "taking Metis as his wife" (886, ἄλοχον θέτο Μῆτιν), Hesiod makes public, ceremonial, and allegorical, the primacy of intellect to Zeus.[10] In the partnership between Zeus and Metis, it is "the goddess [who] gives him counsel about both good and evil" (900, οἱ συμφράσσαιτο θεὰ ἀγαθόν τε κακόν τε).[11] She is her husband's powerful ally as they lay the foundation for the evolution of a stable Kosmos, divine and human. Like father and mother is the daughter, "gray-eyed Athene [who] is born from the head " (924, ἐκ κεφαλῆς γλαυκώπιδα γείνατ' Ἀθήνην) of Zeus.[12] "She has strength and thoughtful counsel equal to her father" (896, ἶσον ἔχουσαν πατρὶ μένος καὶ ἐπίφρονα βουλήν)[13] and she demonstrates the same qualities of "leadership" (925, ἀγέστρατον) which are celebrated in Zeus's *aristeia*. Athene never contests her father's position, nor his

right to remain the king of gods and men.[14] Like her mother, Metis, she is Zeus's ally, although she remains a separate and distinct entity.

In Zeus's succeeding marriages, each of his consorts remains a distinct figure. Like Metis, however, Themis, Eurynome, and Mnemosyne embody Zeus's ideals for his Kosmos. The name Themis is defined as "that which is laid down or established, law . . . as established by custom."[15] "Brilliant Themis" (901, λιπαρὴν θέμιν) draws Zeus to the order inherent in her. Her offspring have a vital role in uniting the divine, human, and natural aspects of Zeus's realm. The most important offspring are "Good Order, Justice, and flourishing Peace" (902, Εὐνομίην τε Δίκην τε καὶ Εἰρήνην τεθαλυῖαν), who preside over the well-being of human society. Good Law and Justice permit the punishment of those who commit evil deeds and reward those who obey the laws. Flourishing Peace is the natural result for a society which upholds law and justice. The next three daughters, the "Fates" (904, Μοίρας), have, as West notes, a "common relationship to Themis: a principle of order and regularity.[16] What is more important, they represent both Zeus's "wisdom" (μητίετα) in assigning a place of honour to the inevitability of human death, and his direct control over the portions of life and death allotted to each and everyone. The Moirai are thus seen as intermediaries, participating with Zeus in the distribution of his "gifts and privileges" (τιμὴν).[17]

With the "Seasons" (901, Ὥρας), who are also the daughters of Themis, the reader sees close ties to another of Zeus's consorts, Demeter (912 - 914) and her power over the fertility of the land. The Seasons bring both good and inclement weather, thus permitting or hindering the sowing and harvesting of the grain. Demeter, as the mother of the land,

ensures the bounty of nature -- that the earth will bring forth its fruits in due season.[18]

Just as Themis and Demeter symbolize the rewards of human endeavour in an orderly society, so Eurynome and Mnemosyne symbolize the greatest rewards of human labour: the enjoyment of poetry, music, and dance. The Titan Eurynome combines in her deity two complementary, though distinct, gifts. She is the personification of feminine "beauty" (908, πολυήρατον εἶδος ἔχουσα) and she is also "Fair Distribution" (907, Εὐρυνόμη): the hallmark of Zeus's Kosmos. Arrighetti defines the roles of her children, the Graces (Χάριτας), as the bearers of "Gioia, Gioia della festa e Festa"[19] (909, Ἀγλαΐην τε καὶ Εὐφροσύνην Θαλίην τ'). They are the guarantors of festive occasions and the harmony of families and communities brought together in celebration.

The centrepiece of ancient Greek celebration often included the singing of poetry. As such then, Zeus's consort Mnemosyne (Memory) gives the greatest gifts to the festival -- her daughters, the nine Muses, who, in the words of Arrighetti:[20]

> incarnano tutti i caratteri e le prerogative di quella forma d'arte per eccellenza che è la poesia la cui presenza nel regno di Zeus ne è una delle caratteristiche salienti.

Zeus's next consort, Leto, is the mother of the twins, Apollo and Artemis.[21] Apollo is the god of prophecy and light -- Homer calls him the "radiant" (*Il.* I.43, Φοῖβος). Although only briefly mentioned, Apollo played a significant role in the Proem. The laurel, his attribute, formed the sceptre through which the Muses, his sisters, consecrated the voice of the *aoidos* with the gift of song. "For the *aoidoi* and harpers on earth/ are from the Muses and from the far-shooter Apollo" (94 - 95, ἐκ

γάρ τοι Μουσέων καὶ ἑκηβόλου Ἀπόλλωνος/ ἄνδρες ἀοιδοὶ ἔασιν ἐπὶ χθόνα καὶ κιθαρισταί). Both Apollo and the Muses ensure the prominence of music and poetry in Zeus's Kosmos.

The unifying features of Zeus's first six marriages are, on the one hand, the linking of beauty, festivity, and the inspiration of poetry and, on the other, the foundation of a Kosmos based on order and harmony. Zeus's innate intellect ensures that precedence is given to the very arts which denote a high civilization.

In Zeus's four concluding marriages, Hesiod begins to focus on the negative characteristics which can disrupt the harmony of life, both divine and mortal. Zeus's last four consorts include Hera, his sister, Maia, Semele, and Alkmene. The last three are all representatives of the younger generation. In addition, Semele is Zeus's first mortal consort. Among Zeus's and Hera's offspring are Hebe and Eileithyia, divinities whom, as Rose says, "are very appropriate children for a goddess intimately connected with the life of women, being respectively the deities of youthful bloom and of childbirth."[22] But the third child, Ares, the god of war, represents all that is inimical to family life and the well-being of the human community.

A strain of realism and pessimism about the ability of gods and men to live without death-bringing conflict enters Zeus's Kosmos. At this point Hesiod reintroduces Athene: an Athene "whom wars and battles delight" (926, ἄδον πόλεμοί τε μάχαι τε). Hera, enraged for some inexplicable reason, produces Hephaistos parthenogenetically, a son without a father.[23] Although Hephaistos's renown as a skilled craftsman and worker of fire at the forge remind the reader of Zeus's own mastery

of fire, there can be no denying that Zeus's Kosmos now contains the seeds of tension, disagreement, and division. Nevertheless, this notion of conflict must always be weighed against the powerful forces for stability that Zeus has consolidated through his earlier marriages: justice, peace, and culture.

In lines 938 ff. Hesiod's song moves towards its closing moments. The marriage alliances with Maia, Semele, and Alkmene are simply abbreviated catalogues of family names and single offspring. In each case, whether the consort is divine or mortal, the child born to her from her union with Zeus becomes a powerful and popular figure in later Greek religion and cult. Hermes, Dionysos, and Herakles, each in his own way, accomplishes deeds that "redound ultimately to Zeus' own greater glory"[24] -- but not in Hesiod's account. Instead of elaborating the themes connected with these offspring and consorts, Hesiod is content to generalize.[25] Hermes is identified as "the herald of the immortals" (939, *κήρυκ' ἀθανάτων*); Dionysos is described as "delightful" (941, *πολυγηθέα*), without any mention of the potential dangers in his ecstatic rites; and Herakles is seen "living a blessed [life]. . ./ untroubled and without age all his days" (954 - 955, *ὄλβιος, . . ./ ναίει ἀπήμαντος καὶ ἀγήραος ἤματα πάντα*) on Olympos.[26] There is no mention of his twelve labours or his insane rages. With brief glimpses such as these, it is not surprising then to hear Hesiod exclaiming: "now farewell, you [Muses], who have homes on Olympos" (963, *ὑμεῖς μὲν νῦν χαίρετ', Ὀλύμπια δώματ' ἔχοντες*). Hesiod has now brought his song full circle.

In the marriage narrative, Hesiod focusses the reader's attention on the most important function of Zeus's kingship in the *Theogony*: Zeus

the father. This vision, as well as the significance of it, has been granted to him by the Muses, the givers of poetic truth. The evolution of Zeus's prerogative as father has led Hesiod to return time and again to the importance of fire to Zeus. When Zeus formed his alliance with the Kyklopes, thereby gaining their weapons of fire, the thunder, the lightning, and the thunderbolt, he did so by assuming the role of father. It is Zeus the father who rescues the Kyklopes from oblivion. It is Zeus who reinstates the Hekatoncheires among the ranks of their fellow gods -- another act of fathering and nurturing. And finally, as we have seen in the marriage alliances, it is Zeus who associates kingship and sovereignty with his obligation to "father" the fundamental elements of a peaceful and just Kosmos. The *Theogony* began with a Proem which gradually depicted images of Zeus as "aigis-bearing," "as all-wise," and, as the father who rejoices in the song of his daughters. The epic concludes with the image of a Zeus less visible to the reader. Having revealed so many facets of Zeus's kingship, Hesiod now reinstates the god's mystery. Zeus returns to Mount Olympos.

FOOTNOTES

1. The title of Chapter 5 is a translation of one of Zeus's most common epithets, θεῶν πατέρ' ἠδὲ καὶ ἀνδρῶν, first used in line 47 of the *Theogony*.

2. For a full discussion on the ending of the *Theogony*, *cf.* West, pp. 398 - 399, who argues for line 900 as a cut-off. Some recent scholars, such as Bradley (1966), p. 47, concur with those who believe the original *Theogony* ends at line 964. while others, such as M. D. Northrup, "Where Did the *Theogony* End?" *SO* 58 (1983), p. 9, proposes that line 954 is the original end-point of the epic. West, p. 397, calls line 965 a "reinvocation," -- it marks the beginning of a new song.

3. Solmsen (1949), p. 55.

4. Arrighetti (1984), p. 34.

5. West, p. 403, says that "Hesiod's Metis represents simply knowledge and the practical wisdom that is based on knowledge."

6. *Cf.* Ch. 3, n. 56.

7. Although Hesiod employs some of the same language found earlier in the section recounting the birth of Zeus (*cf.* 453 - 495) to describe Zeus's act of swallowing Metis, his obedience to Gaia's prophecy, and his use of trickery, the resemblance between the two passages ends here. Kronos swallows his new-born offspring in order to destroy them. Zeus swallows Metis in order to prevent the birth of the son whom Gaia prophesied would depose him in the same way both Zeus and Kronos deposed their own fathers. Zeus does have successors -- the offspring whom A. Masaracchia, "L'unità delle *Opere* Esiodee e il loro rapporto con la *Teogonia*," *Helikon* 1 (1961), p. 219, describes as "le operanti esecutrici della sua volontà, le personificazioni dei suoi disegni" for his Kosmos. Zeus, does not destroy Metis's child; instead he himself brings his own daughter, Athene, to birth. Thus Zeus allows the child to live but in so doing he assumes the maternal role. Arthur (1982), p. 77, views this act as Zeus's appropriation of "female fecundity." On the other hand, Sussman, p. 71, says "Zeus' swallowing of Metis is a symbolic re-enactment of the fact that he has already incorporated knowledge into himself, the knowledge that will prevent his being overthrown like his father and grandfather." This myth is undoubtedly allegorical. For further discussion, *cf.* West, pp. 401 - 403.

8. Sarno, p. 78.

9. Masaracchia, pp. 218 - 219.

10. Brown, p. 42, says "[n]ot force, but wisdom (Metis) is [Zeus's] primary attribute (his first consort)."

11. Lattimore gives a misleading translation here. Metis counsels Zeus about how to deal with good things and evil things. Lattimore seems to imply that she counsels him either in a good or in an evil way.

12. *Cf.* Brown, p. 25.

13. When Zeus swallows Metis he absorbs wisdom into himself; his daughter, Athene, inherits and symbolizes that same wisdom.

14. Most feminist Classicists regard Athene as the ultimate sign of Zeus's patriarchy. *Cf.* Arthur (1982), p. 77.

15. *LSJ*, *s.v.* Θέμις.

16. West, p. 408.

17. Hesiod has an alternate version of the birth and role of the Moirai from Night in *Theogony* 217 - 222. Solmsen (1982), p. 7, on their presence in this part of the epic notes: "their parents as well as their sisters lead us to think of these Moirai as active in the dispensation of justice and pertaining to an advanced stage of civilization."

18. For the story of Demeter, *cf. h. Demeter*.

19. Arrighetti (1984), p. 35.

20. *Ibid.* *Cf.* Sussman, p. 73, who says that "[t]he unity of the moral and aesthetic order [of Zeus's Kosmos] is crystallized by the birth of the Muses."

21. Apollo's sister, Artemis, plays no role in the arts. She is the huntress -- "delighting in arrows" (918, ἰοχέαιραν). The *h. Apollo* describes her birth while Callimachus's *Eis Artemin* describes her youth. Grimal, *s.v.* says she is "always a virgin and eternally young;" Rose, p. 113, says Artemis is always interested in the young of all living things, and appealed to by women in childbirth. In *Odyssey* 6.151, Odysseos compares the youthful Nausikaa to Artemis.

22. Rose, p. 52. Hera was the goddess and guardian of marriage.

23. The so-called Hera section, between lines 929 and 930 as translated by Lattimore, is considered spurious by recent editors. Lattimore follows the edition of Evelyn-White (1914). J. Duchemin, *Prométhée* (Paris: Société d'Édition-Les Belles Lettres, 1974), p. 48, sees a connection between Athene and Hephaistos. *Cf.* Ch. 4, Prometheia -- both gods participate in the moulding and/or adorning of Pandora.

24. Northrup, p. 8.

25. Apollodorus III.iv.3 recounts the story that Dionysos's mother, Semele, begged Zeus to show himself in all his fiery splendor. She was consumed by the thunderbolt -- but she was not destroyed; rather, she was immortalized. Apollodorus says that Zeus took Dionysos into himself and brought him to birth through his thigh. So once again, Zeus assumed the maternal role. The name Dionysos means "son of Zeus." *Cf.* West, p. 416 - 417 and Cook, v. II, pp. 24 - 29.

26. *Cf. h. Hermes*, *h. Dionysos*, and Eur. *Bacchai* for accounts of the birth, youth and deeds of Hermes and Dionysos. The *Theogony* contains many references to Herakles (*cf.* 289, 315, 332, 527, 530, 943, and 951). Apollodorus II.iv.8 - vii.7 gives a full account of Herakles's life and deeds. For Dionysos and the concept of religious ecstasy, *cf.* E.R. Dodds, *The Greeks and the Irrational* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1951).

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APPENDIX 1

The *aigis* was a specific attribute of Zeus. He often lent it, however, to other gods, notably, to Athene (*cf. Il.* 2.447). In fact, the *aigis* was associated as much with this goddess as with her father. According to tradition, the *aigis* of Athene, but not that of Zeus, was emblazoned with the head of the Gorgon, Medusa. Apollodorus says that after Perseus decapitated the Medusa he gave the Gorgon's head to Athene who "placed the head . . . in the middle of her shield" (II.iv.4, ἐν μέσῃ τῇ ἀσπίδι . . . τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐνέθηκε). In the *Iliad*, Homer describes the "head of the Gorgon, terrible, gigantic" (5.741, Γοργείη κεφαλὴ δεινοῖο πελώρου) on Zeus's *aigis but*, according to Leaf and Bayfield, this depiction "is undoubtedly . . . a later interpretation . . . for [the Gorgon] was not known in Greece before the seventh century B.C."[1]

According to legend a glance from the eyes of Medusa could turn men to stone.[2] Howe says that the epithet Medusa means "Guardian, [or] Goddess."[3] Phinney believes that Medusa "means 'Queen'"[4] and that she is "a faded mother-goddess . . . [and t]he universally known danger to mortals of seeing a deity face to face explains why the Gorgon was believed to destroy all who looked at her."[5] It is this aspect which gave the head of the Gorgon, and, subsequently the *aigis*, what Feldman calls, its "function, in part, as apotropaia, fearsome things used to fend off harm or evil."[6]

The apotropaic power of the *aigis* makes it an essential part of Zeus's weaponry. It acts as a protective shield in the same way that the ordinary warrior uses his simple leather shield to protect him in battle.

Zeus's shield has other powers, too. As Rose points out, "[i]n the hands of a god, or worn by him, it is not only a potent defence, but a magically powerful weapon, which when shaken at an enemy fills him with terror."[7] The connection of the *aigis*, first, with the storm-cloud (*cf.* Ch. 2, n. 19) and, second, with magic, gave it unusual powers, powers which could only belong to the supreme god in the Kosmos or to those with whom he entrusted it.

FOOTNOTES

1. W. Leaf and M.A. Bayfield in their Commentary to Homer, *Iliad*, I (London: MacMillan, 1965), p. 374.

2. *OCD*, *s.v. Gorgons*. *Cf.* T.P. Howe, "The Origin and Function of the Gorgon-Head," *AJA* 58 (1954), p. 221, notes that, "the sight of [the Gorgon] has no effect on women, but all men who look on her are rendered impotent, turned to stone in the poetic language of myth."

3. Howe, p. 214.

4. E. Phinney Jr., "Perseus' Battle with the Gorgons," *TAPA*, 102 (1971), p. 446.

5. *Ibid*, pp. 446 - 447.

6. W. Wundt, *Völkerpsychologie* (Leipzig 1909) 3, pp. 212 ff. cited in T. Feldman, "Gorgo and the Origins of Fear," *Arion* 4 (1965), p. 488.

7. Rose, p. 48.

APPENDIX 2

Cleanthes (331 - 232 B.C.) was both a Stoic philosopher and a poet. In his commentary to Cleanthes's *Hymn to Zeus*, Hopkinson observes that the author "subsum[es] the standard poetic Zeus and his conventional attributes and epithets into the new Stoic cosmology."[1]

Κύδιστ' ἀθανάτων, πολυώνυμε, παγκρατὲς αἰεί,
Ζεῦ, φύσεως ἀρχηγέ, νόμου μέτα πάντα κυβερνῶν,
χαῖρε· σὲ γὰρ πάντεσσι θέμις θνητοῖσι προσαυδᾶν.
ἐκ σοῦ γὰρ γενόμεσθα, θεοῦ μίμημα λαχόντες
μοῦνοι, ὅσα ζώει τε καὶ ἕρπει θνήτ' ἐπὶ γαῖαν·
τῷ σε καθυμνήσω καὶ σὸν κράτος αἰὲν ἀείσω.
σοὶ δὴ πᾶς ὅδε κόσμος ἑλισσόμενος περὶ γαῖαν
πείθεται ἦι κεν ἄγηις, καὶ ἑκὼν ὑπὸ σεῖο κρατεῖται·
τοῖον ἔχεις ὑποεργὸν ἀνικήτοις ἐνὶ χερσὶν
ἀμφήκη πυρόεντα ἀειζώοντα κεραυνόν·
τοῦ γὰρ ὑπὸ πληγῆι φύσεως πάντ' ἔργα <τελεῖται>·
τῶι σὺ κατευθύνεις κοινὸν λόγον, ὃς διὰ πάντων
φοιτᾶι μιγνύμενος μεγάλοις μικροῖς τε φάεσσι

τῶς τόσσος γεγαὼς ὕπατος βασιλεὺς διὰ παντός.
οὐδέ τι γίγνεται ἔργον ἐπὶ χθονὶ σοῦ δίχα, δαῖμον,
οὔτε κατ' αἰθέριον θεῖον πόλον, οὔτ' ἐνὶ πόντωι,
πλὴν ὁπόσα ῥέζουσι κακοὶ σφετέραισιν ἀνοίαις.
ἀλλὰ σὺ καὶ τὰ περισσὰ ἐπίστασαι ἄρτια θεῖναι,
καὶ κοσμεῖν τἄκοσμα, τὰ δ' οὐ φίλα σοὶ φίλα ἐστίν.
ὧδε γὰρ εἰς ἓν πάντα συνήρμοκας ἐσθλὰ κακοῖσιν
ὥσθ' ἕνα γίγνεσθαι πάντων λόγον αἰὲν ἐόντα,
ὃν φεύγοντες ἐῶσιν ὅσοι θνητῶν κακοί εἰσι,
δύσμοροι, οἵ τ' ἀγαθῶν μὲν ἀεὶ κτῆσιν ποθέοντες
οὔτ' ἐσορῶσι θεοῦ κοινὸν νόμον οὔτε κλύουσιν,
ᾧι κεν πειθόμενοι σὺν νῶι βίον ἐσθλὸν ἔχοιεν·
αὐτοὶ δ' αὖθ' ὁρμῶσιν ἄνευ νόου ἄλλος ἐπ' ἄλλο,
οἱ μὲν ὑπὲρ δόξης σπουδὴν δυσέριστον ἔχοντες,
οἱ δ' ἐπὶ κερδοσύνας τετραμμένοι οὐδενὶ κόσμωι,
ἄλλοι δ' εἰς ἄνεσιν καὶ σώματος ἡδέα ἔργα·
<ἀλλὰ κακῶν ἐπέκυρσαν>, ἐπ' ἄλλοτε δ' ἄλλα φέρονται,
σπεύδοντες μάλα πάμπαν ἐναντία τῶνδε γενέσθαι.
ἀλλὰ Ζεῦ πάνδωρε κελαινεφὲς ἀρχικέραυνε
ἀνθρώπους ῥῦσαι ἀπειροσύνης ἀπὸ λυγρῆς·
τὴν σύ, πάτερ, σκέδασον ψυχῆς ἄπο, δὸς δὲ κυρῆσαι
γνώμης, ἧι πίσυνος σὺ δίκης μέτα πάντα κυβερνᾶις,
ὄφρ' ἂν τιμηθέντες ἀμειβώμεσθά σε τιμῆι,
ὑμνοῦντες τὰ σὰ ἔργα διηνεκές, ὡς ἐπέοικε
θνητὸν ἐόντ', ἐπεὶ οὔτε βροτοῖς γέρας ἄλλο τι μεῖζον
οὔτε θεοῖς, ἢ κοινὸν ἀεὶ νόμον ἐν δίκηι ὑμνεῖν.

(Most glorious[2] of the immortals, worshipped under many names,
forever all-powerful,
Zeus, first cause of nature, governing all things with laws,
Hail; for it right for all mortals to address you.
for we come into being from you, [and] we alone are imitations
of god,
5 though many mortal things both live and creep upon the earth;
so I shall sing of you and always praise your power.
Thus all the Kosmos which revolves around the earth
obeys where you would lead it, and is willingly controlled by
you;
such is the instrument that you hold in your unconquerable
hands
10 the forked fiery everliving thunderbolt;[3]
for all the works of nature are <brought to fulfilment> under
its strokes;[4]
under it you guide the common *logos*, which goes to and fro
through all things, mingling with the great and the little
stars
thus so supreme a king [you] have become in every respect.[5]
15 No deed happens on the earth without you, divine power,
neither in the holy vault of heaven, nor on the sea,
except whatsoever evil men do in their own foolishness.
But even you know how to make uncommon things perfect
and how to order the disordered; even things unloved are loved
by you.
20 for thus you have joined together all things into one, the
good with the evil
so that there is one *logos* for all things -- forever,
which as many mortals who are evil avoid and dismiss,
ill-fated ones, who always desire the acquisition of goods
neither respecting nor listening to the common law of god,
25 if they would obey it, then they would have a good life;
but one man rushes senselessly to one thing, another to
another,
some in zealous [and] evil competition for the sake of
reputation,
others turning without order to profit by cunning,
while others to relaxation and the pleasures of the body;
30 but <they have their share of evils>; they get some evils now,
others later,
as they strive towards the exact opposite [of these evils].
But Zeus, giver of all things, shrouded in dark clouds,
ruling the thunderbolt[6]
rescue mankind from sad ignorance;
you, father, scatter it from their soul, grant that they may
attain
35 knowledge, in which you trust and rule all things with
justice,
so that honoured we may repay you with honour,
celebrating your deeds uninterruptedly, as is fitting

for mortals, since neither for mortal men nor for the gods
is there any greater prize, than always to celebrate in
justice the common law.

FOOTNOTES

1. Cleanthes, *Hymn to Zeus* in *A Hellenistic Anthology*, ed. N. Hopkinson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), p. 132. The author wishes to thank Cambridge University Press for permission to cite Cleanthes's *Hymn to Zeus* in its entirety.

2. Prometheus calls Zeus "most glorious" (*Th.* 548, κύδιστε).

3. Hopkinson, p. 133, notes that "[t]he Stoics, following Heraclitus, saw pure ethereal fire . . . as the guiding principle of the universe." They believed that the universe was held together by "tension" and that "this tension was brought about by the πλητὴ πυρός, the directive stroke of fire." *Cf.* Cook, v.I, pp. 28 - 33.

4. *Cf. Th.* 857 πλητῇσιν (*cf.* Ch. 4, n. 82).

5. Hopkinson, p. 134, points out that "this line makes very poor sense."

6. Hopkinson, p. 135 - 136, observes that κελαινεφές is a traditional Homeric epithet. On the other hand, ἀρχικέραυνε "is a Stoic variation on the Homeric ἀρχικέραυνε ['with bright lightning']: Zeus is the controller of the ethereal Heraclitean fire . . . [but] [s]trictly speaking, Zeus *is* the fire."

VITA

NAME:	ISABELLE ANNE DONALD
PLACE OF BIRTH:	BARRHEAD, ALBERTA
YEAR OF BIRTH:	1944
POST-SECONDARY EDUCATION:	B.A. (SPECIAL) WITH DISTINCTION IN CLASSICS, UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA, 1981
HONOURS AND AWARDS:	THE DOUGLAS E. SMITH GOLD MEDAL IN ARTS, UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA, 1981
RELATED WORK EXPERIENCE:	TEACHING ASSISTANT, DEPARTMENT OF CLASSICS, UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA, 1988/89